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This Bulletin contains the papers read by the members of the staff of the Institute of Religion, a sermon preached at the ordination of Professor Don Yoder, and an article on College Chapel.

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## **RELIGION NUMBER**

The charter which was granted to Franklin and Marshall College in 1787 contains the following statement of purpose: "The preservation of the principles of the Christian religion and of our republican form of government in their purity depends, under God, in a great measure on the establishment and support of suitable places of education for the purpose of training up a succession of youth who, by being enabled fully to understand the grounds of both, may be led the more zealously to practice one and the more strenuously to defend the other."

Franklin and Marshall College continues to be aware of this fundamental purpose, which it attempts to fulfil in various ways.

During the academic year 1950-1951, students were enrolled in seven different courses in Religion. The college enrollment included fifty-eight pre-theological students, representing nine different denominations. Two of these received the highest honors which are based on faculty selection. The Williamson Medal, "awarded to the member of the graduating class who has during his college career reached the highest standing in character, leadership, and scholarship," was presented to William Rader, who served as president of the Student YMCA and who will enter the Lancaster Theological Seminary next fall. The Thomas Gilmore Apple prize, "awarded to the student in the sophomore class who, during the year, has represented and used his influence for the best ideals of character and leadership" was voted to Richard Clewell. One of the two Fullbright Scholarships awarded in Pennsylvania went to Richard Druckenbrod, who will study Theology next year at the University of Graz, Austria.

In addition to the courses in Religion, regular opportunities for corporate worship are provided by the College. A description of this part of the College program appears in Appendix B of this Bulletin.

The College has always vitally influenced the cultural and religious life of the Community. The Institute of Religion was organized as a Community Forum for the discussion of various phases of contemporary religion. In one way, the Institute can be described as a project in adult education; in a special sense it may

take the form of a "refresher course" for clergymen who have been away from academic discipline since graduating from theological seminary; in a practical sense, through the Institute, the College opens her classroom doors to the community.

This Bulletin contains the papers which were read at the 1951 Institute.

Through the annual Religion Number of the College Bulletin, Alumni, clergymen of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, those who attend the Institute of Religion, and others receive a partial report of what Franklin and Marshall College is doing for her students and friends in the field of religion.

CHARLES D. SPOTTS,

Chairman, Department of Religion.

# THE PRINCIPLE OF PROTESTANTISM

By LUTHER J. BINKLEY

We are living in an age when it is vitally important for us to know what we believe. The Communists are frequently better versed in their hopes, plans and ideals than are many of our finest young men. In the classroom and in the church I have found people who really do not know what Protestantism is all about. They know that Martin Luther and John Calvin were instrumental in establishing Protestantism, but just exactly what Protestantism stands for is a mystery to them. That such a situation exists is at least partially the fault of our educational systems. In schools and colleges we teach our youth all about political, social and economic developments but tread lightly, if at all, upon the issue of the Christian religious teachings and institutions. Even as ministers many of us either do little in the way of religious education, or else are ineffective in our attempts to teach the Bible to people. Too often we create the impression that Protestantism is anti-Catholic, or anti-Sunday-movie, or anti-authoritarian, but we do not always take pains to stress that primarily Protestantism stands for something, that Protestantism is opposed to certain things because it finds these things inimical to its essential convictions about God, man, and the universe.

The task which I have posed for this essay is not simple. It is not easy to state the Principle of Protestantism with its most important ramifications in one hour. Perhaps at the outset we should say that our task is further complicated by the multiplicity of Protestant denominations. It seems difficult to find the common grounds of belief in these various Protestant groups, and when that task is accomplished we may find a common ethic but little more. It is not the intention of this writer to attempt to reduce Protestantism to a neat equation; to say the least that would be wholly artificial, if not presumptuous.

It is my belief that Dr. Philip Schaff, the famed church historian of the nineteenth century, came closer to catching the essential principle of Protestantism than any other writer with whom I am acquainted. Let me say that I first became acquainted with the writings of Dr. Schaff in connection with the preparation of my doctoral dissertation. At first I regarded my studies of Dr. Schaff and the Mercersburg Theologians as a

task, but soon I began to feel that my research was into material which had much to say to our own day. Dr. Schaff's essay on *The Principle of Protestantism*, I felt, should be placed into the hands of every Protestant clergyman with the notation on the cover, "Must read." Unfortunately this book is over a hundred years old, and out of print, so I hope that my brief summary of Dr. Schaff's conclusions may stimulate your thinking upon the vital issue of the meaning of Protestantism.

Some of you may not have heard about Dr. Schaff's connection with the Mercersburg Theology, so let me briefly sketch for you the story of this little known, but profound theological movement of the nineteenth century. Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, was the location of the theological seminary of the German Reformed Church. The seminary had moved to Mercersburg in 1837, after unsuccessful attempts to establish it in Carlisle and York. Marshall College, which later united with Franklin College to form Franklin and Marshall College, served as the preparatory school for the seminary. Three great scholars and men of faith were responsible for the development of a mediating school of theology which became known as the Mercersburg Theology. Frederick Augustus Rauch, who served as the first President of Marshall College, was responsible for introducing German philosophy of the Hegel-Daub-Schelling variety to American students. Rauch died at an early age, and was replaced after much searching by Philip Schaff, who had recently completed his university studies in Germany. Rauch's colleague at Mercersburg had been John Williamson Nevin, who became, along with Schaff, one of the leading figures in the creation and development of the Mercersburg Theology. Nevin's interest was in theology and liturgy, while Schaff was more concerned with church history. They made a great pair and were responsible for the editing of one of the best theological publications of the nineteenth century, the *Mercersburg Review*.

Philip Schaff upon arriving in America in 1844 gave his inaugural address before assuming his position at the seminary in Mercersburg. Schaff lectured on the "Principles of Protestantism" and after his inauguration enlarged his address and had it printed in both German and English. It is this enlarged edition of Schaff's inaugural address on the *Principle of Protestantism* which I wish to consider with you this afternoon. This book was one of the first great utterances by a Mercersburg Theolo-

gian, and seems to have given direction to the thinking of the entire school associated with Mercersburg.

## I.

Basically, the thesis which Schaff presented in his *Principle of Protestantism* was fairly radical. Schaff really proposed a developmental or evolutionary view of the church. He stated that the reformers had not delivered the final pronouncements on faith and morals; there was still much to do in theology. On the other hand, he felt that the past should be studied and appropriated, rather than discarded without a thorough study. It would be equally erroneous to reject the past history of the church or to accept as infallible the findings of the early theologians. The best method would be to attach modern theology to the trunk of the past, so that our thinking might have an organic connection with the Reformers and the early Catholic fathers.

In the first part of his treatise Schaff sought to demonstrate the union of the Reformation with the previous history of the Church. Protestantism, he sought to prove, was the result of a long process of growth, and it was not the exclusive creation of any one man or country. Let us listen to his own words on this subject:

No work so vast as the Reformation could be the product of a single man or a single day. When Luther uttered the bold word which called it into being, the sound was at once echoed back again, as in obedience to an enchanter's wand, not only from every quarter of Germany, but from England also, and France, and Italy, and Spain: He gave utterance to what was already darkly present to the general consciousness of his age, and brought out into full view that which thousands before him, and in his own time, had already been struggling in various ways to reach. Genuine Protestantism is no such sudden growth, springing up like a mushroom of the night, as the papist and certain narrow minded ultra-protestants, would fain have us believe.<sup>1</sup>

Schaff saw a preparation for the Reformation in late medieval politics, popular literature, science, theology and the Church. Protestantism, he discerned, was closely linked to the rise of the national states. In Germany certain types of literature also

opened the way for the reform in religion, e.g., *Eulenspiegel*, *Reineke Fuchs*, and Hans Rosenblut's *Fastnachtspiele*. In the sphere of science and philosophy Ficino, Reuchlin and Erasmus prepared the way for Martin Luther. In a negative sense the Albigenses, Beghards, and Catharists anticipated the Reformation, while this was done in a positive sense by the Waldenses, Wickliffites and Hussites, Brethren of the Common Life, the Oratory of Divine Love, Nicholas of Clamenge, Pierre d'Ailly, John Gerson, Savonarola, John of Wesel, and John Gock. The mystics, especially, had a great deal to do with the preparatory stages of the Reformation, for they called religion away from external observances and into the personal heart of an individual. Mysticism thirsted after direct communion with God, but it had no power to produce a reformation because it was lacking in practical energy and drive. Mysticism was too subjective to overcome the world.

Schaff found one more preparatory influence: the legalistic piety of the Middle Ages served as a schoolmaster leading towards the evangelical doctrine of justification. He reached the general conclusion, therefore, that:

*The Reformation is the legitimate offspring, the greatest act of the Catholic Church; and is on this account of true catholic nature itself, in its genuine conception: whereas the Church of Rome, instead of following the divine conduct of history has continued to stick in the old law of commandments, the garb of childhood, like the Jewish hierarchy in the time of Christ, and thus by its fixation as Romanism has parted with the character of catholicity in exchange for that of particularity.<sup>2</sup>*

Schaff devoted a large part of his treatise to a discussion of the prospective aspect of the Reformation—the Protestant principle in its positive force. He was careful to indicate what he meant by saying that the advance or progress has been in the Christian Church, not in Christianity. Schaff believed that we have progressed in our apprehension of the religion of the New Testament, but he added that the New Testament religion itself is the final norm and can never be improved upon. Christianity, he said, has been complete from the beginning, but the Church has progressed in its cultivation and improvement of the four great interests of the Church: doctrine, life, constitu-

tion, and worship. In a typically Hegelian fashion he wrote: "The Church, not less than every one of its members, has its periods of infancy, youth, manhood, and old age."<sup>3</sup> Progress in the Church, however, is never creative but merely receptive. The Church grows in organic assimilation but it does not create *de novo*. All the great theologies of the Church are merely systematic expressions of the substance of the New Testament. The Reformers were not creative, therefore, but made their great contribution in bringing into clear consciousness that which existed only darkly before in the soul. The great principle of the Reformation is not to be sought in any objective doctrine; Schaff maintained that the doctrines of the Catholic Church were adopted to a great extent by the Reformers, for these doctrines had been established by the great ecumenical councils. The subjective appropriation of salvation was the sphere in which the Reformers performed their greatest service.

Schaff assailed the false views of the principle of Protestantism which many people held in his day. Protestantism was not an attempt, he said, to subvert the papacy and the hierarchy, nor was it an emancipation of the human mind. Also false was the view among many in the Reformed Church that the positive religious principle of the Reformation was the authority of scripture as the rule of faith. This principle was not primary but secondary. Before the scriptures could be taken as the exclusive source of Christian truth it was necessary that one already had faith in Christ. Schaff saw very clearly that the Socinians, Swedenborgians, and Unitarians could all quote scripture to bear out their doctrines. Faith in Christ, therefore, was to serve as the measuring stick in the interpretation of the scriptures.

He devoted considerable space to a discussion of the *material principle* of Protestantism: the doctrine of justification by grace alone through faith. The Reformers refused to accept the semi-Pelagian errors of the Roman Catholics and they guarded especially against overvaluing the natural will of man. For the Protestants man was in a state of sin as the result of the fall of Adam. While in this state of sin man was free only to choose evil, but fortunately God gave to the world a Son who is a Saviour. With Christ faith re-entered the world, and the life of the Christian is to be offered as a debt of gratitude to God for His love and mercy manifested unto us in His Son Jesus Christ.

A believer can perform good acts only as he is motivated by the Holy Spirit. The Protestant principle is that man cannot save himself; he can be saved only by the grace of God through faith in Jesus Christ.

Schaff showed his skill as a church historian in not misrepresenting the Roman Catholic doctrine of salvation. He admitted that the Roman Church teaches the truth that the grace of God as *gratia praeveniens* commences the work of conversion in man by calling him to salvation in Christ. The Roman theologians, however, do not view man as in a state of absolute corruption. Man in his natural state, for the Roman Church, lacks supernatural endowments and his natural powers are debilitated, but the natural man takes part in his own conversion and salvation. When the power towards good, which is still in man even though debilitated by original sin, is again set free, man disposes himself to the acquisition of justification. For the Roman Catholic, both man's will and God's grace work together in the process of justification. God's grace illuminates man's reason, and man freely consents to move towards the gift of God. This two-fold action results in the gradual taking place of justification, partly by works of love and partly by faith. Schaff accused the Roman Church of identifying justification and sanctification—the making righteous is blended and confused with a property residing in the man personally. In practice, Schaff said, faith and works cannot be evenly blended, and since works can be multiplied time and time again, they come to take on more importance than faith. In fact, a man may do more than his duty, in which case his excess merit is stored in a treasury for the use of other members of the Church. This doctrine, Schaff indicated, led to the sale of indulgences, whereby salvation was purchased by money.

In summary, Schaff charged the Roman Catholic concept of salvation with the following serious defects: (1) a superficial knowledge of man's sinfulness in making cooperation on man's part prepare the way for justification; (2) a confusing of justification with sanctification; (3) a giving of too little place to faith as a consequence of (4) an over-valuation of good works; and (5) a lack of evangelical freedom and assurance.

According to Schaff, the Protestant doctrine of salvation exhibited a greater depth of Christian consciousness than that of the Roman Catholic Church. Protestantism is fully aware of the sin

and depravity of man; it is not semi-Pelagian. The natural state of man is not viewed simply as a debilitation of the moral powers, *egestas naturalis, justitiae debitae nuditas*, but as a real corruption of these powers, so that man is unable of himself to produce anything that is good. After the will has once chosen evil, it is no longer free but is filled with the contents of evil and hence it is an object of divine wrath. For the Protestant, faith is not the natural product of man, but the free gift of God. Faith consists of *notitia, assensus, and fiducia*.

The first is *notitia*, the knowledge of its object, Jesus Christ namely and his all sufficient merit; the second, *assensus*, free inward consent to all that the scriptures teach of the mercy of God in Christ; the third, which is most essential and full of comfort, *fiducia*, or the act of the will moving towards Christ and resting in him for redemption, the confidence that this grace is not only of general objective force, but personally proper also to the believing subject himself.<sup>4</sup>

The essence of faith, for Schaff, was a forsaking of self and a living of the life of love. Self-seeking formed the inmost nature of evil. Good works, for the Protestants, are acceptable to God, but they do not think that they can earn salvation by them. "The entire Christian life is made to appear as a *debt of gratitude*, for the boundless, eternally to be praised love and mercy of God manifested towards us in Jesus Christ."<sup>5</sup> Sanctification is a continually progressive work which becomes complete only when the whole body of the Church has reached the state of perfection. Even the works of a believer, so long as he sojourns in the body of flesh, are not good absolutely, because of the presence of sin in his person. A believer can do good acts only as they are wrought in him and through him by the Spirit of God. The Protestant faith is that man cannot save himself; he can be saved only by the grace of God through faith in Jesus Christ.

The *formal principle* of Protestantism is the doctrine of the normative authority of the sacred scriptures, in opposition to the dogma of tradition (Roman Catholic) or the overvaluation of human reason (rationalism). Schaff indicated that the Roman Church could not prove the universality of a single one of all her traditions, unless these agreed with the Bible. Many of the dogmas and practices of the Roman Church arose in the Middle

Ages, and were accepted by a small majority of influential church fathers. Dogmas were frequently accepted because of political pressure, rather than because of the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Only those dogmas which are foreshadowed in the New Testament can truly claim to be Catholic.

The Church of Rome made the ridiculous claim to infallibility. With this claim the entire system of the Roman Catholic Church stands or falls. But this highest principle, the infallibility of the Pope, is like the highest principle of most philosophical systems: it is asserted, but never proved.

It forms the *proton pseudos*, the grand falsehood, on which the whole system rests; and at the same time its central sin, creature deification, making itself identical with the universal Church, yea, with the absolute kingdom of God, out of which all are heretics only and children of perdition.<sup>6</sup>

Schaff believed that Protestantism had shaken this foundation of infallibility from its place. Protestantism maintains that infallibility belongs to Christ and his word alone, and to all else so far only as it may be joined to him in an organic union. In this present world, this union is progressive, and hence always incomplete. The Church has error along with the truth, and although this error may not cast out the truth, it does frequently obscure the truth. Concerning the Protestant Church, Schaff believed that it carries its heavenly treasure in earthen vessels. The Church is subject to all the imperfections of finitude and hence grows in its appreciation of the truth of the gospel.

Schaff was not naive enough to eliminate tradition from the Church altogether. He merely stated that the forms of ritual, together with historical and dogmatic tradition, occupy a secondary place, and are always to be measured by the extent of their agreement with the scriptures. Schaff believed that the reformers went too far at times in opposing ritualistic forms. Protestants should reject all those forms which conflict with the true life of the Church and serve merely to promote a dead mechanical religion, but they should retain all forms that suitably embody and express the Christian spirit.

The historical traditions of the church fathers should be accepted as historical testimony and not as infallible dictation, suggested Schaff. The credibility of the individual writer and

his connection with the apostolic age determine the value of his writings. "Respect for them (the church fathers) is not suffered to shackle the farther progress of exegesis, as in the Church of Rome."<sup>7</sup>

The Protestants, therefore, should reject all those dogmatic traditions which cannot find warrant in the scriptures: e. g., worship of the Virgin Mary and the saints, purgatory, and indulgences. These doctrines are to be regarded as arbitrary human inventions; but, Schaff stressed, Protestants must not do away with the great ecumenical creeds.

Tradition in this sense is absolutely indispensable . . . This tradition is not a part of the divine word separately from that which is written, but the contents of scripture itself as apprehended and settled by the Church against heresies past and always new appearing; not an independent source of revelation, but the one fountain of the written word, only rolling itself forward in the stream of Church consciousness.<sup>8</sup>

With this view firmly in mind, Schaff felt, we can escape the insuperable difficulties which face those Protestants who invest the Bible with the most abstract, isolated character. The Bible is beheld only through the medium of tradition, and it is understood only as mirrored in the present consciousness of the particular Church to which one belongs.

Really, Schaff stated, *there is only one Protestant principle*. The material and the formal principles are merely supplementary sides of the same principle. The Protestant principle is that *Christ is all in all*. The living interpenetration of the material and formal principles forms the criterion of genuine and orthodox Protestantism.

## II.

Having laid the foundation of the principle of Protestantism Schaff turned to his main task, which was an examination of the diseases of Protestantism at the date of his writing. The diseases of Protestantism were all allied to unchurchly subjectivism in theory and practice.

Rationalism is a dangerous onesided theoretic subjectivism which was developed especially in the bosom of the Lutheran Church in Germany. After the reformers died, Protestant theology became dry dogmatism and stiffened orthodoxy. A re-

action occurred in the form of Spenerian Pietism, which was the first step toward rationalism. Pietism allowed the idea of religion to resolve itself into simple morality, or into mere good citizenship. Rationalism had its own historical development, however, appearing first as a popular *aufklaerung*, by which religion and the church were cleared of all deeper meaning. Then, by means of the philosophy of Kant, it assumed a more scientific form. Cultivated reflection began to replace the familiar style of thinking. Finally, destructive speculative theology burst upon the scene in the negativistic criticism of the Hegelians. Schaff believed that in the critical writings of Strauss, Feuerbach, and Bruno Bauer one could find the keenest assaults ever made upon Christianity. The rationalistic movement is Pelagian but what is worse, it also equates the Bible with other human books. The concept of the supernatural is surrendered as a mere product of the religious imagination. The general idea of humanity is exalted to the throne of the universe. Schaff believed that the logical development of this humanistic pantheism should be temples in which man worshipped his own genius.

Schaff felt that the more dangerous enemy of the church was not Roman Catholicism but the peril from the rationalists within the confines of Protestantism. He believed that orthodox Protestants were more closely related to Roman Catholics than they were to rationalists, such as Feuerbach and Strauss. After all, both the Roman Catholic thinker and the orthodox Protestant share faith in the trinity, the deity of Christ, the atonement by Christ, and the divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. It is true that the Roman Church is semi-Pelagian and half-rationalistic in its attempt to make works and tradition co-ordinate with the scriptures and with the grace of God in Christ, but rationalism dreams of being able to do everything by its own unaided strength. For the rationalists the possibility of a supernatural revelation is rejected, and Christ himself is degraded to a natural hero of virtue, a second Socrates. Christ, to the rationalist, is a mere man, no matter how ideally apprehended. Another significant difference can be found in the fact that the Roman Church looks to the works of the whole Church as availing for salvation, and by tradition it intends the reason of all Christian history, while the Protestant rationalist holds the isolated will and reason of the individual sufficient for the purposes of understanding and salvation. Schaff stated that if Luther and Calvin

were to arrive upon the contemporary scene they would undoubtedly join in battle against rationalism rather than against popery.

Schaff admitted that the abstract intellectualism of Germany might never invade the popular minds of Americans, but he found traces of rationalism in Unitarianism and Universalism. He admitted also that, "Where a man does not think, it requires no great skill to be orthodox." He added, however, that "the orthodoxy that includes no thought, is not worth a farthing."<sup>9</sup> But Schaff was uneasy. Acquaintance with German literature and philosophy was spreading in America, and he felt that if those who lacked piety took over the rationalist principle, a great tree of evil might grow in American soil as it had already matured in Germany. Already many of the German periodicals in the mid-west were devoting their pages to the service of rationalism and infidelity, and these periodicals were read with great interest by untrained immigrants. Rationalism, Schaff warned, is a great disease of Protestantism, and unless we fight it consciously it may destroy Protestantism through a process of gradual infiltration.

Just as rationalism is dangerous one-sided theoretic subjectivism, so sectarianism is one-sided practical subjectivism. This disease of Protestantism had developed in the bosom of the Reformed churches. While rationalism had grown in Germany, sectarianism had grown in England and America. Schaff explained this phenomena as due to the differences in character of the German and English-speaking peoples. The German is characterized by inwardness, heartiness, contemplation, deep thought in philosophy and theology, and he cares little for outward organization. On the other hand, the English character is realistic, has great talent for organization, but has little concern for philosophy or art. The typical Englishmen follow Locke and laugh at the speculations of the German philosophers.

Schaff did not believe that sects had their origin in the Reformation, but rather that the tendency to divide into sects had its root in the general nature of man's sinful ambition and pride. The first centuries of Christianity had many sects, and they existed through the Middle Ages. The Catholic Church, however, has gradually overwhelmed them, partly by spiritual superiority and partly by outward force. The emancipation of many peoples from the Roman Catholic yoke in the sixteenth century

gave ample scope for the development of more and more splinter groups. An objective historian, Schaff believed, must admire the moral earnestness, the stern self-discipline, the unbending force of character exhibited in Puritanism, the dominant force behind American sects.

But here precisely lies the weakness also of this tendency. Puritanism has a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge. Inflamed against the despotism of bad forms, and the abuse of such as are good, it makes war upon form in every shape, and insists on stripping the spirit of all covering whatever, as though the body were a work of the Devil. If the choice were simply between a bodiless spirit and a spiritless body, the first of course must be at once preferred. But there is still a third condition, that of a sound spirit in a sound body; and this is the best of all, alone answering to the will and order of God.<sup>10</sup>

Puritanism also lacked a proper respect for history; it sought to restore pure and primitive Christianity with entire disregard of the many centuries of Christian history, erroneously regarded as abortive attempts to refine the original pure religion of Christ. Yet, said Schaff, the Puritan should recall Christ's promise to be with His Church always. Perhaps the Church of the Middle Ages was really Christian.

Puritan Christianity formed, said Schaff, the main basis of the American Church. We should never forget the Pilgrims who once for all stamped upon our land that character of moral earnestness, that spirit of intrepid determination, that peculiar zeal for the Sabbath and the Bible, which have raised America so high in the history of the Church. Nevertheless, we cannot overlook the fact that Puritanism has also infested the Church with an unhistorical and unchurchly character. Puritanism includes no limitation for the principles of sects. Thus, said Schaff, we have reached the point where we have a vast host of sects, which it is no longer easy to number, and which still continues to swell year by year. We cannot tell where the process will end. Anyone who is convinced that he has had an inner religious experience may start a new religious group. Such a person holds himself to be superior to the great wisdom of the Holy Catholic Church, and builds a new chapel in which he claims the gospel is preached in its purity for the first time since the death of

Christ. Schaff believed that Satan made a generous contribution to the erection of all sectarian chapels.

One of the most tragic things in the history of the Church was the spread of the sectarian attitude to all Protestant churches. Even those which, strictly speaking, cannot be called sects have absorbed some of the attitude of individualism and the refusal to cooperate with other religious groups. It is a shame that some Protestant denominations should take pride in the damage which they can inflict upon each other. Too many Protestant communions are unwilling to sacrifice their own private interests for the betterment of the Kingdom of God.

In Schaff the times thus found a new champion of united Protestantism. Away with human denominations, down with religious sects! The watchword should be one spirit and one body. All conventicles and chapels must perish so that from the ashes may rise the One Church of God, which will be a bride adorned for her bridegroom. Schaff was a believer in ecumenicity before the birth of the ecumenical movement. He wanted to see a united church which was true to its historical traditions and yet which was developing in accord with the spirit of its holy scriptures. Rationalism and sectarianism were the enemies of his dream. They were one-sided subjectivistic movements and could be opposed only with the power of history and the idea of the Church as the mother of all believers. Schaff believed that if we would recover the original principle of Protestantism, we might be able to help prepare the ground for a universal Christian Church.

Schaff regarded with some favor one view of the Church which had gained a foothold. This was the Anglo-Catholic view, then called Puseyism. It was a well meant, but insufficient attempt to remedy the disease of the Church. Schaff looked upon it as an entirely legitimate and necessary reaction against rationalistic and sectarian Protestantism, as well as a needed reaction against the religious subjectivism of the Low Church Party. Puseyism had correctly emphasized respect for history, and placed the authority of the general over the individual. It had stressed the importance of the sacraments which are the objective institutions of Jesus Christ himself. Puseyism was to be honored also for its sincere attempt to restore the festivals of the Church and the practice of frequent communions. It had furthermore brought back into the Church the great art which

was needed to beautify the sanctuaries and altars. Schaff recognized that the Reformed Church could not seek its own perfection in complete isolation from the rest of Christendom, and that much of value could be learned from the Puseyites.

Schaff did not believe, however, that he could accept all that Puseyism taught. He objected particularly to its misapprehension of the Reformation and of the whole scheme of Protestant development. Puseyism lacked the idea of development. It regarded the Church as a system handed down as a given and complete form, to remain the same forever and ever. Under such a view of the nature of the Church, the Reformation could only be regarded as an apostasy from the true Church. Puseyism, therefore, would be obliged to unchurch all Protestants who had departed from the episcopal tradition. An additional difficulty with the Anglo-Catholic movement was to be found in its failure to incorporate Protestant theology into its doctrinal statements. They had a tendency backwards, and not forwards. They accepted tradition uncritically, and viewed piety as simply the observance of particular Church forms, fasts, and self-imposed disciplines.

### III.

Schaff formulated his theory of the nature of the Church in the last section of his treatise. Here he took his stand on the fact of regular historical progress. He called it Protestant Catholicism. Anxious as he was to keep the best in both the Catholic and Protestant traditions, and feeling, also, that each group by itself represented only a half truth, he adopted an Hegelian view; he looked for a new synthesis of the two positions which should include the best aspects of Protestantism and the finest parts of Catholicism. He insisted that we must look forward and not backward, if we wish to achieve a church unity which will last. We must follow slowly along the quiet historical way, for this is the way that we are led by the Spirit of the Lord. Not suddenly, but slowly and with great tribulation, will the heavenly kingdom come on earth.

In the Middle Ages the Catholic Church settled into a character of stiff objectivity which was incompatible with the freedom of the individual. Protestantism was a needed reaction, but had now developed into the opposite error of a loose subjectivity which threatened to do away with objective Church authority.

The extremes, as such, are both false. Schaff believed that both Catholicism and Protestantism embodied true principles, but that they had developed in such a one-sided fashion as to result in falsehood. Let them then find correction in the true Church.

Genuine obedience towards the Church, coincides with the highest degree of personal piety. The life of the single member in the body and for the body as a whole, constitutes also its own most healthy and vigorous state. Separated from the body, it is given over at once to a process of dissolution.<sup>11</sup>

For one who accepted the principle of historical development, even rationalism and sectarianism could not be viewed as purely the work of the devil. Rationalism and sectarism have their conditional necessity in the course of history; they are needed reactions; only, they must not be accepted as the *terminus ad quem*. Furthermore, both of these movements contain partial truths which should be incorporated into the theology of the Church. Schaff cited the old Portuguese proverb, “‘God writes on a crooked line’.”<sup>12</sup> God brings good out of the most destructive forms of rationalism.

Rationalism, said Schaff, has its bright and dark sides. Its dark side lies in its failure to see the divine in Christ and the supernatural in history. In so far, however, as the church falls within human history, rationalism has its place and its merits. Rationalism has served to overthrow many prejudices and has made a permanent contribution to history and criticism.

In this respect, the scientific Rationalism of Germany, by bringing in a severe criticism and grammatico-historical exegesis, which form the natural ground and necessary condition of all theological knowledge of the Bible, has wrought clearly with purifying power in the Church... The old faith has sustained in this way no loss. It remains essentially the same. It has come forth from this critical fire, improved only in its form and argument, and cleared of all sorts of dross. It has lost nothing in living power, inwardness and depth, whilst it has gained in freedom and solid scientific strength.<sup>13</sup>

Sectarism also has had its provisional justification in the course of human history. Each sect has appeared as a proper reaction against the Church. The Quakers appeared in the

seventeenth century in England in opposition to the outward mechanism and dead formality of the Anglican Church. Anabaptism had its origin as a reaction against the heathen lives lived by many baptized Christians. Each sect stressed some particular side of the Christian life, and the Church can learn by looking at the sects. When the Church corrects the faults which have been pointed out to it by a sect, that particular sect loses its right to exist. The Church should make a great effort to gather all the sects into its bosom so they may again become organic parts of the body of Christ on earth.

Schaff also believed that the separation of the secular spheres from the Church since the Reformation was an advance in the naturalization process of Christianity. Religion is not to be viewed as a single, separate sphere of life but rather as a quality or principle which pervades all of life. "There is no natural element that may not be sanctified; no sphere of natural life that may not be glorified."<sup>14</sup> Christianity is not to be a flight away from the world, but is rather to be the redemption and the renovation of the world. Roman monasticism and Protestant pietism are both wrong in their refusal to see the divine at work in the natural elements of life.

An error equally dangerous, however, is to view science, art, and politics as in a relation of entire indifference to religion. We cannot deposit our religion in one corner of our lives, our learning in a second, and our politics in a third. Christianity is related to all of life.

We set out then with the assumption, that Christianity stands in an absolutely negative, hostile relation only to sin and death, while all that is properly human, the world with its several spheres, government, science, art and social life, is regarded by it as of divine institution and force; which religion is required accordingly neither to annihilate nor yet to overlook as foreign to its nature, but on the contrary to occupy and fill with its own heavenly spirit.<sup>15</sup>

The Middle Ages appear so glorious simply because they united in organic fashion all human pursuits under the control and supervision of the Church. All science and philosophy were handmaids to theology. Schaff believed that one who could not appreciate the excellence of the Middle Ages must be deficient

in historical training or in artistic appreciation. He felt that it was foolish to believe that we have nothing to learn from the great popes, or from Dante, or Aquinas, or Francis of Assisi. Unfortunately, Protestant historians have too often neglected the Middle Ages; they should instead study this period and appropriate that which may be of value for later times.

The Roman Church still possesses some of the greatness of the Medieval Church.

Even now the Roman Catholic Church, which since the sixteenth century lives almost entirely of her past greatness, retains much of the character under consideration, though no longer the mistress of the world. She embraces all spheres of human life, attends it through all its stations from the cradle to the grave, pervades all conditions with her spirit, anoints all the occupations with her consecrating oil, and in this way exercises a much greater power than Protestantism over the consciences and spirits of those who stand in her communion.<sup>16</sup>

Granting that the Roman Church also contained much error and superstition in its bosom, it should be remembered that at the heart of all error and abuse there is a real need which it is well to discover.

Despite all this, Schaff felt that the Roman Church possesses one great fault in its relationship with the world. She does not sufficiently respect the world in its own right, but seeks to subject the world to her own authority in a violent and premature way. It was well that during the Middle Ages the immature arts and sciences were guided and guarded by the Mother Church, but now these arts and sciences have grown up and no longer need the dictation of the parent. The Roman Church refused to recognize the maturation process of the arts and sciences, and hence the children had to rebel against the parent in order that progress and development might continue. In the Protestant states, science, philosophy and literature are far in advance of the same disciplines in Roman Catholic lands. Modern culture is not completely pagan, but is moving along on the shoulders of Christianity. Protestantism thus is an advance upon the previous state of the church, for it has granted independence to the various disciplines in order that they might do their part in

the realization of the kingdom of God. The future, thus, seems to belong with Protestantism.

#### IV.

Schaff was quite optimistic about the future of the Church, because he believed that there were signs indicating the beginning of a new era in the history of theology and the Church. In Germany he found that the new theology was combining the newest of intellectual and scientific knowledge with the old faith of the Church. He found great help in the philosophies of Kant and Schelling, as well as in Hegel. Politically, Schaff approved of the Evangelical Union carried through by Frederick William III as a step toward church reunion.

In turning to the American scene, Schaff did not find any philosophical problems troubling the minds of church members or of ministers. American churches were concerned with practical issues. "Can it fill an empty pocket, or an empty stomach? . . . It is greatly to be lamented, that the German Churches of America in particular should be so sadly defective in theological and philosophical culture."<sup>17</sup> Some in America opposed theology as injurious to living, practical piety. Schaff showed, however, that theology is the result of years of thought and sorrow. God gave us our intellectual faculties to be used, and one of the best uses we can put them to is thought upon the ultimate issues of life. Ministers should be well trained in theology in order that they might avoid emotional excesses in their pastoral work. Sound scholarship is of more importance for the welfare of the Church than rhetoric and fluency of speech.

Many Americans in seeking to defend theology said that it is useful. No, replied Schaff, it is not useful. A bushel of potatoes is a much more useful commodity than theology. Theology is not a means to an end, but it is an end in itself. Just as a statesman would not be without a knowledge of law, so a churchman should not be without a knowledge of theology. The Church can never be in good order if its ministers are not well trained theologians. The necessity for theology springs from the inmost nature of the Christian faith itself.

Our religion is not simply for feeling or for the will separately taken, but full as much for the faculty of knowledge also, the understanding and reason; it seeks to penetrate and pervade harmoniously all the powers

of man's nature, and thus to refine and perfect him in the undivided totality of his person...Christianity is not against reason, but only above reason. Only superficial knowledge is irreligious; sure, thorough knowledge stands in covenant with faith, and is not possible without it. But faith should be ever struggling to become knowledge; Christianity should enter always more and more into the comprehension of reason.<sup>18</sup>

For Schaff, therefore, there could be no real conflict between faith and reason.

Theology is extremely important, according to Schaff, because ideas rule the world. Theology moves hand in hand, therefore, with the progress of the Church. Where ignorance rules the age, there Christianity grows sickly. Where piety flourishes, there knowledge shows itself clear and fresh to the same extent. Church history shows that the great leaders of the Church have been those who were distinguished in intellectual attainments, e.g., Anselm, Aquinas, Calvin, Augustine, Wesley, Edwards, etc. When a religious movement is not grounded in a solid intellectual system, it will be found to lack the qualities of endurance. Some Protestants thought that theology was formulated once for all in the seventeenth century. Schaff pointed out that it is inconsistent to view a development in law, science, and politics, and to refuse to see the same thing occurring in philosophy and theology. Protestantism is a movement of change and development; it is not a static authority. The proper home of Protestant theology is Germany, and those who refuse to take account of the latest developments in German thinking are setting themselves against the progress of Protestantism. Schaff ardently wished that the spirit of the German theology in its better forms might be transplanted into America, and with needed modifications allowed to enter organically into our religious life. In America, theology will have to be more practical; it will have to combine the best in the German speculative mind with the English practical action.

Such a union of the German scientific and English practical tendencies, would furnish a better form of existence than either of these separately taken; which it might seem to be the vocation of America in particular to realize...I regret not in the least the modification, which the science of Germany, and its theology

in particular, must thus undergo, to be turned here to any good account. Rather I rejoice in it, with all my heart. For decided foe as I am to the mere utilitarian principle, I am well aware that German science, is but too prone to run to an extreme in the other direction, and thus to loose itself in unprofitable speculation and subtleties that come in the end to nothing.<sup>19</sup>

Also needed in America, said Schaff, is a conquering of the sect idea. The unity of the Church in America must proceed from within the now existing sects, and it is impossible to say which external form it will assume in time. No general union seems probable in the immediate future, said Schaff.

Schaff concluded this great study of *The Principle of Protestantism* with an exhortation to his brothers in the German Reformed Church. He called upon them to be true to their heritage by moving forward in the chain of constant development of Protestant principles. Yet they were not to become zealots for their own denomination, for the Kingdom of God is larger than all the denominations. Not even the Catholics were to be excluded from the bonds of Christian love, for the Kingdom can only come when the Catholics and Protestants are reunited in love.

Schaff accepted Schelling's division of church history into three periods: (1) the period of Peter—the authority of Rome and the law; (2) the period of Paul—the movement of freedom and justification by faith of Protestantism; (3) the period of John—the period of synthesis which will unite the periods of Peter and Paul in love. Schaff hoped and prayed that the nineteenth century might see a magnificent union of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism consummated on American soil. For him the Church was too large and too great to be restricted to any particular denomination, and he looked forward to the day when they might all be one.

Certainly here is much to think about. The principle of historical development may again refresh our American Protestant theology. Schaff's proposals might well become the bases for church union on a large scale. Unfortunately, his earlier work at Mercersburg was so eclipsed by his studies of church history while teaching at Union Seminary that few men realize the great work which Schaff did in the *Principle of Protestantism*. This

brief paper is an attempt to give fresh attention to the enlightened work of Philip Schaff, Protestant theologian.

#### NOTES

1. Philip Schaff, *The Principle of Protestantism* (Chambersburg, Pa., 1845), 37.
2. *Ibid.*, 49-50.
3. *Ibid.*, 51.
4. *Ibid.*, 62-63.
5. *Ibid.*, 65.
6. *Ibid.*, 76.
7. *Ibid.*, 85.
8. *Ibid.*, 87.
9. *Ibid.*, 105.
10. *Ibid.*, 112.
11. *Ibid.*, 132.
12. Quoted in *Ibid.*, 131.
13. *Ibid.*, 132-133.
14. *Ibid.*, 135.
15. *Ibid.*, 136.
16. *Ibid.*, 140.
17. *Ibid.*, 156.
18. *Ibid.*, 157-158.
19. *Ibid.*, 163-164.



# FAITH AND CULTURE

ROBERT G. MICKEY

The purpose of this paper is to explore one aspect of a contemporary concern, shared by theologians on the one hand and some social scientists on the other, the concern which is generally labeled the "cultural crisis." It begins by noticing the kind of concern theologians have had in the recent past, and how the general "sociological" interest has been utilized in some Christian apologetics. Then it moves to an examination of the "utilitarian" justification of Christian Faith as a method of alleviating the "cultural crisis," and concludes with a short presentation of one contemporary emphasis in the papers and the reports of the Amsterdam Conference—an emphasis which is sometimes called the "confessional" approach in which Christian thinkers, and the Church in general, begin *with* the Christian Faith as normative.

There are some presuppositions which must be stated at the outset, which inform this paper. At the level of the commonplace, it presupposes that we live in a time of "cultural crisis," or in Toynbee's language, in a time of "trouble." At the level of the non-commonplace, it presupposes that men, and the culture-civilizations they create, live by "faith," and that, in the language of the great Archbishop of Canterbury, William Temple, the basic problem of our time is the theological problem: the problem of the proper object of faith, and the normative relationship of men to the "proper object of faith." One aspect of the total problem under consideration may be indicated by observing that sociologists and cultural anthropologists seem to agree that the various "culture-civilizations" live by a whole structured pattern of values (which is one way of describing a "faith"). These "patterns of culture" are generally unquestioned; cultural "crises" come about in which these patterns are brought into question either internally, as by the process of rational inquiry or by "prophetic" re-orientation, or externally by the process of cultural interaction, as when two or more cultures meet, interpenetrate, and the "patterns of culture" become not patterns of order but patterns of disorder. Sociologists and cultural anthropologists are limited by their peculiar disciplines to the extent that they are unable, as "scientists" to assess the peculiar pattern of any given culture-civilization. They may give descriptive generalizations; as "scientists" they may not raise the question of the "truth" or

the "validity" of any, or all, particular patterns of culture. It is this which is *the* theological problem.

It is not the purpose of this paper to trace the history of the interaction of sociological and theological scholarship. The story in terms of the Protestant Churches in the United States has been told by Dr. Charles Howard Hopkins in his *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism 1865-1915* in the chapter "Sociology in the Service of Religion" (Yale University Press, 1940). The monumental studies of Ernest Troeltsch, best known in this country under the English title *The Social Teachings of the Christian Church*, come out of this same interaction. More recently, the great Ecumenical Conference at Oxford, England, in 1937, was oriented towards the problem of "Church, Community (i.e., the social order) and State." Both in terms of scholarly interest and in terms of actual concern, therefore, theology and sociology, have been at work upon a common problem: the problem of understanding and interpreting society. As a matter of fact, the concern of the theologians with the problem of "society" may be termed a cultural or a sociological phenomenon. Sociologically speaking, one would expect theologians and educators and many others besides to be concerned with the problem of "society" when older and seemingly established "patterns" ceased to be operative. A similar observation could be made in another area: the "new" psychology associated with the name of Freud and others, reflects the problem of personal integration and disintegration. And it is not an accident, nay it seems necessary after we have seen it happen, that the "dynamic psychologists" should get together with the cultural anthropologists, on the one hand, and with theologians, on the other.

Since this Institute reflects the interests of men who are professionally interested in the affairs of the Christian Community and the Faith by which it lives, it is well to be aware of this type of interest, and more centrally, to remember that the recent gatherings of non-Roman Christians have centered their attention, not only upon "society," but have presented theological analyses of the "modern" problem. This is brought out clearly in the additional "Report" of one of the sections of the Oxford Conference, the section which dealt with the topic "Church and Community." The first two paragraphs of this additional report read:

The Christian church is called upon today to fulfill its

mission amidst a distraught and disunited mankind. Divisions and conflicts within human society there have always been. But in the past these have been in the nature of tensions or strains, of varying intensity, within the general frameworks of social unity which have persisted. In general the foundations of communal life in commonly accepted systems of customs, moral and cultural values and religious beliefs have remained firm. Today, as probably only once or twice before in human history, the foundations themselves are shaken. As a result, the corporate life of mankind has been thrown into confusion and disintegration and this social disunity is reflected in the lives of individual men and women, whose personal destiny is largely bound up with their relation to the community. Suffering, frustration and a baffled sense of the futility and meaninglessness of existence characterize personal living. Though more marked in some sections of mankind than in others, these facts are in some measure universal.

The vigorous attempts in many countries to restore social unity by drastic control and regimentation and by declaring national or class unity the supreme good, supreme over all else, only confirm this judgment. They bear witness to the primal need of human life for community and fellowship and to the tragic extent to which these have been lost in the present age.

(*The Oxford Conference, Official Report*. Ed. J. H. Oldham. (Chicago: Willett Clark and Company, 1937. pp. 172-173)

This was one emphasis at Oxford, perhaps a dominant one—and since some diagnosis of the “crisis” in the 1930’s had a decidedly sociological or anthropological orientation, the prognosis came forth in the nature of the assertion that the Christian Community was the “true” community—memorized in the pregnant phrase of the Oxford Conference: *Let the Church be the Church*. This is underscored in the above statement: the emergence of the Nazi creed of blood and soil, and the Communist creed of the solidarity of the working class were both interpreted as abortive ways of affirming, and supplying, a “primal need of human life for community and fellowship.”

It may be well to look at the way this diagnosis and prognosis can be, and has been, utilized in recent Christian apologetics.

The argument, baldly stated, goes like this. It is an observed "fact" that man is a "social animal"—an observation as old as Plato and Aristotle in Greek civilization and as old as the prophets and priests of Ancient Israel—to take but two illustrations out of our Western cultural memory. One of the problems of the recent past, illustrated in literature with the great individualist Robinson Crusoe (who had no need of "society"), illustrated in popular political theory under the title "rugged individualism," and illustrated in American "pioneer" experience by the praise of the lonely pioneer whether on the frontier of the westward moving populace in the migrations of the 18th and 19th centuries or the "lonely pioneer" in the laboratory making apparently useless (that is, non-immediate-utilitarian) investigations, has been the assertion that man is not necessarily a "social animal." The Oxford Conference literature, informed by a half-century of sociological Christian scholarship, repudiated *that* as a finally correct interpretation. Man is a social animal; and this has been re-worked into almost all phases of Church activity—from the emphasis upon public and corporate worship (worship is no longer a "private affair"), to the emphasis upon "one world."

The type of apologetic problem which comes from this reaffirmation of the social nature of man, is the question, *Can Christianity Save Civilization?* Is there, in short, a uniquely Christian analysis of the social nature of man which, if understood and grasped, is able to arrest the processes which seem to be reducing society into a collectivity of atomic individuals?

And if there is, then does it supply the necessary social cohesive, apparently lacking in our own society, which, if grasped and utilized, will save our Western Culture from disintegration? This motif, incidently, runs like a scarlet thread thru the apologetic writings of the contemporary Swiss theologian Emil Brunner, whose book on Christian Ethics (*The Divine Imperative*) is grounded (in the formal nature of its argument) on the premise that Christianity alone provides the basis for a true and genuine community of man with man by reaffirming the essential nature of the community of God with man. This is a form, a variant form to be sure, of a pragmatic and utilitarian defense of Christianity. Christianity is a "true" religion (faith) because it alone provides the base and basis for true community. Therefore, as an approach of missionary and apologetic endeavor one begins by saying: civilization (society-culture) must and can

be "saved" (i.e., kept from disintegration). If, therefore, you want to save civilization, accept Christianity.

This approach may be illustrated by a statement issued by an Eastern Asia Conference, held under the auspices of the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches in Bangkok in December, 1949. The full report, including the "Message" of the Conference is to be found in the quarterly journal of the World Council of Churches—the *Ecumenical Review*. This is not to suggest that the "utilitarian" thread running thru the following quotation is its only emphasis—but it is there.

In those countries where the possibility exists of transforming the social order democratically so that the means employed may not destroy the ends of justice, a true social democracy may be the answer to Communism. We must recognize at this point however, that democratic institutions and values divorced from their original Christian motive exist in a moral and religious vacuum and tend to break down. The Christian has the task of redefining and reinforcing these institutions and values in the light of the Christian faith, supplying a moral dynamic which they lack today. The fundamental rights of the human person cannot endure except as they are acknowledged as derived from man's relation to God in Christ. The Christian truth alone can judge and save democracy from breaking down in the face of the force of totalitarianism of the left and the right, and make it truly social. (*The Ecumenical Review*, Spring, 1950, #3, pp. 280-271).

Note how the last sentence of the Bangkok statement quoted above reads: "The Christian truth alone can judge and save democracy from breaking down . . . and make it truly social." This can be, may be, and probably must be used in one of two ways of apologetics. a) There is such a thing as "Christian truth" which is intrinsically "true" and one of its consequences is that it provides a way of dealing with social cohesion. It makes society truly social, just as it can make mental health truly healthy, not because that is its prime object, its primal objective, but because social and mental health are among all those things which come to those who seek God and His Righteousness first. b) Men want and need such valuable things as social and mental health

—these are *prima facie* values to be sought in and for themselves, and Christianity is one among many other “faiths” which supply stability and staying power to achieve these intrinsically valuable goods.

Both ways of presenting the Christian Faith were utilized in the Oxford Conference Reports, just as they seem to be used in most presentations of the Christian Faith. It is helpful to remember that St. Thomas needed to write two *Summas*, one to and for the Church, one to and for the “Gentiles.” And so too, have the great Ecumenical conferences in the twentieth century been forced by the nature of the case to present a double kind of emphasis. The “Messages” of these Conferences, however, have been addressed to the Churches, and the implication of this “speaking to the Churches” is illustrated by another quotation from the Oxford Conference, from the same group as quoted earlier in this paper.

The church is under obligation to proclaim the truth that the disintegration of society has one root cause. Human life is falling to pieces because it has tried to organize itself into unity on a secularistic and humanistic basis without any reference to the divine will and power above and beyond itself. Nor is there any hope in the ascription of sacred quality to nation or state or class. A false sacred, a false God, merely adds demonic power to the unredeemed passions of men. Though bringing about temporary and local unity it prepared for mankind an even worse and wider conflict. The recall to God in penitence must stand first.

Yet how shall men know who and what God is, and what it is of which they must repent, and in what new direction they must walk, and whence they may find strength to walk therein? The answer to these questions God himself has given in the revelation of his will and supremely in Jesus Christ. In God is the secret of true unity among men and in Christ is revealed the secret of God. The first task of the church, now as always, is to make known the gospel, and to assert the claim of Jesus Christ as the incarnate Word of God to the lordship of all human life. (*Official Report*, pp. 56-57)

And with this must go another quotation from the same group:

The church is no longer authoritative and dominant, it is only one among the many influences and movements of the modern world. Today convinced Christians are everywhere in a minority in a predominantly unchristian world. *For the relation of the church to the community the mission field is now normative.* The relation of the Church in China to Chinese life is more typical than the relation of the church in Britain to British life; indeed the inner reality in Britain may be more like that in China than commonly suspected. (*Ibid.*, pp. 183-184).

Without doing too much violence to the import of these two quotations, we may emphasize their point thus. The modern "crisis" in society is due to the worship of "false sacreds," the problem of social disorder is at root the problem of religious polytheism. Therefore the first task of the Church is the missionary task of illuminating the nature of, and the problem of, religious idolatry. It is the multiplicity of faiths, with each faith making final claims, which rend and destroy the modern world. The investment of finite centers of meaning and power with infinite and ultimate claims of sanctity and meaning, rather than uniting men, puts them into great clashing groups. From this analysis, the basal need is seen to be a "final faith," and the problem of "society" is interpreted as a theological problem: the problem of the "true Infinite" or the "genuinely sacred."

It is a testimony to the insight and the essential wisdom of the statements of the Oxford Conference that nothing written to and for the Church in 1937 needed to be revised or repudiated in 1948 when these Churches met together at Amsterdam. One of the papers written for the Amsterdam Conference, entitled "Rival Secular Faiths" takes up both of the emphases we have so far noted: the emphasis on cultural disintegration, and the emphasis upon the problem of "false sacreds." In the following quotations these problems are dealt with in such a way as to make the latter problem fundamental—

The fact with which we are all confronted, whether we are Christians or not, is that the fundamental sanctions on which Western civilization has been founded have disintegrated. For this is the crisis in civilization, that when people desire to justify the character of civilization they find themselves standing before an abyss of

meaninglessness; when they enquire into the ultimate motives of their actions, they discover that there is nothing that they really believe in, or that convinces them as ultimately trustworthy. Thus they give themselves with frantic and absolutist devotion to concrete programmes that seem to them to promise a reconstruction of the cultural life. Philosophical or socio-political programmes originally designed to deal with specific problems of the cultural life are embraced as if they were gospels. It is for this reason that humanism, democratic idealism, communism, nationalism have become religions for many modern men. To elude the futility that threatens the cultural life, they sanctify the world views that underlie these programmes by an idolatrous perversion of the true character of these movements and of true religion as well. One must, therefore, suspect that this pseudo-religiousness is not really an escape from futility, but a concession to it.

(*Amsterdam Conference Series*: Volume II, *The Church's Witness to God's Design*, New York; Harper and Brothers, 1948, p. 49). It is important to notice that the above quotation is not manufacturing a "straw man" argument. At least one important school of contemporary philosophy which covets the name "Naturalism" has been, and is being defended as an adequate "faith." As far back as 1934 Professor John Dewey published a book on *A Common Faith* (Yale University Press), and in the winter of 1943 three articles appeared in the journal *Partisan Review* which were aggressively oriented towards defending the naturalistic faith and of attacking the "precious and wilful" obscurantism of contemporary presentations of the Christian faith. These articles are:

Sidney Hook, "The New Failure of Nerve"; John Dewey, "Anti-Naturalism in Extremis"; Ernest Nagel, "Malicious Philosophies." They are in the Jan.-Feb. Issue of the *Partisan Review*, 1943. The last sentence summarizes one of Professor Hook's statements found on p. 3 of that issue. It was the thesis of Hook, especially, that a good deal of the present cultural crisis could be traced to a rejection of faith in the "scientific outlook." It is at least interesting to notice that not only Christian theologians see the "crisis" of our times in terms of a true faith.

I should like to stress the phrase "frantic and absolutist devotion"

which occurs in the quotation from the Amsterdam paper. This seems to be one of the elements of historic religion which has not been noticed as it seems it really deserves to be. The causes, the "goods," the "idols" men find themselves serving do seem to make (or are interpreted as making) total claims which evoke the response known as *devotion*. Naturalistic humanists are *devoted* to the "scientific outlook" in precisely the same fashion that contemporary communists are *devoted* to their cause, and one hopes that believing Christians are *devoted* to their common Lord and Master. A Naturalistic humanist may be tentative in all his attitudes and convictions except the first conviction and certainty: namely, his method. The communist may be and is equivocal about all his loyalties, including his loyalty to truthfulness, but he cannot be equivocal in his devotion to his cause. It does seem to be a common element in the faiths men live by, that the objects of faith make this type of claim. In this way, *all* "sacreds" make the same claim that we find in the first commandment of our Hebrew-Christian tradition: Thou shalt have no other gods. The theological problem which underlies the contemporary cultural crisis becomes the problem of the *true sacred*.

It is because of the genuine debate on this issue that the Oxford affirmation that the Church lives in a "missionary situation" is an important one. In so far as it is true that men "live by faith," it is important that we be clear as to the motive and the meaning of the "missionary enterprise." Sometimes there creeps into the apology for the mission impulse the argument that by feeding men's bodies, educating their minds, and helping them till the soil, we shall divert their attention from rival "faiths." To call attention to this is not an attack upon the various implementations of the contemporary Christian Missionary Impulse, namely the programs of medical, agricultural and educational missions. There is common agreement that these *follow from* the basic Christian premise and the dominant injunction laid upon the Christian community by her Lord: that we love and serve the neighbor, that we bind his wounds, educate his mind, and help him help himself in all ways. But this is intended to raise the question of the rationale of the Missionary Impulse. In so far as it is true that contemporary communism, (one of the modern rivals of Christianity as a Faith) seems to succeed best where it can offer sure promises of making life meaningful, that is, where it is preached as a "gospel," as "good

news" of the coming eschatological community of man with man, it is also true that Christianity must be presented as a "gospel," as "good news." This is but to suggest that the fundamental motive for the missionary impulse is the persuasion that the Christian Faith points towards the "true sacred," rather than the negative persuasion that it can "defeat" its rivals by accepting their estimate of the "true sacred."

It was suggested at the outset that one of the trends in the contemporary presentations of the "Christian Faith" has been in the direction of a "confessional" approach. This is to say, the statements coming from the Ecumenical Conferences begin, as the quotation from the Oxford Conference began, with the announcement (or the confession) of the "lordship of Jesus Christ." None of these conferences could debate *that issue*, for it was and it is, the common basis of the Church's life. The beginning point of all analyses, whether of cultural disorder, or of "rival faiths" seem to begin with the affirmation of the "truth as it is in Jesus Christ." Beginning with this normative interpretation, or as the Amsterdam Conference paper puts it, reasoning from this disclosure of "God's Design," it is possible to see "man's disorder." In our day, when the great words of our Western Culture seem to have lost their clear meaning, when the words like peace, justice, truth, mercy, democracy—and even the word Christian—seem to have lost their incisive and biting edge, it becomes necessary to have a "beginning point" from which to reason. One of the things in contemporary Protestant ecumenical experience which aids us at this point, is that the "whole" Church learns from the particular experience of specific Churches. We have all learned something by watching how the Christian Church in Germany had to deal with the question of "German Christianity." The final way in which it was rejected was by means of a "confessional" statement: *we do not recognize our Lord Jesus Christ in this movement.* Precisely because the Christian Church confesses that it has been encountered by the Infinite and the Eternal in Jesus Christ, it must reject all other movements and "gospels" which claim to be manifestations of the Infinite and Eternal unless they bear His image.

It is because of *this* persuasion that the Christian Church has been unable and unwilling to finally identify itself with any particular finite cause, movement, method, or civilization. It is because of this normative confession that the Church, and in-

dividual Christians have been kept from being frantically devoted to specific causes and goals. Because of the absolute quality of devotion which the Lord of the Church places upon her and her "members," neither she nor they may give unqualified devotion to any other candidate for eternity and sacredness. Now it is true that not only Christians, but many others have seen candidates for the "eternal" live and die—as both eternal Rome and eternal Germany died, and as the more contemporary "waves of the future" will surely die. Particularly is this true for students in the contemporary study of "culture-civilizations." Cultural anthropologists know of, and have studied, many limited cultural patterns endorsed and sanctified as "eternal," and have written the story of their death as well as their disintegration.

Yet there is one difference both in mood and in approach which distinguishes the believing Christian from the practicing anthropologist. The former does acknowledge a final criteria by which he assesses the patterns of his own culture-civilization; the latter is limited by his methods from making any final discriminating judgment. When the problem is faced, as we now face it in our own and in other contemporary societies, about "our" culture and our civilization, as to the *validity* of our cultural patterns, the anthropologist *qua* anthropologist may not make any statement. He may describe the patterns; as an anthropologist he may not assess their validity. When he does assess the validity, he speaks from some "faith," some perspective. The path of least resistance, one which seems inherent in the relativity implied in all descriptive science of society, is to make one's own culture a tacit standard, an implicit standard of normality. But this path, as both anthropologists and others know, is the way of disaster and disintegration.

We began this paper on this note, not to make an invidious distinction between the operations of theologians and anthropologists but to illustrate a relationship between "faith and culture." To the extent that Christian apologetics has been based upon appeals of general sociological or anthropological nature, it has been faced with the problem of finding the "true absolute" or the "true sacred." In recent Church pronouncements, as at Oxford and Amsterdam, when the claim has been put forward that Christianity has a solution to the problem of cultural disintegration, it has offered a double analysis: contemporary society both in the East and in the West is being divided and rent be-

cause of absolute devotion to "false sacreds," and, Christianity alone has within itself the creative powers to make a genuine community. But behind both of these approaches there is the more open avowal that the Church (or the general Christian community) *begins with* an acknowledged criteria of the *true sacred*, which is bound up with its first confessional statement: the *lordship* of Jesus Christ.

There is one new note which premeates the literature of the Amsterdam conference. It is the note on "evangelism," a note which accepts the Oxford conference contention that the missionary situation is now the normal situation for all Churches in all lands. This includes the emphasis, begun with the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Conference, of disassociating the "Christian Gospel" from the more familiar patterns of Western Culture; it includes the newer emphasis of recognizing as a problem for the Church the "secularism within Christendom" (as in Professor Tillich's paper prepared for the Amsterdam Conference, "The Disintegration of Society in Christian Countries" in Volume II of the *Amsterdam Conference Series*, cf. p. 53). It also includes the new "prophetic note"—the religious note, of proclaiming

the absolute transcendence of the absolute, the unconditional character of the unconditioned, the divinity of the divine. These seeming tautologies are the theme of every prophetic message, of every dissociation of the healing power from what it is supposed to heal. (Tillich, *op. cit.*, p. 62).

The religious and theological problem, that of witnessing to the *true* absolute, is not solved in any neat formula or program. But a part of the approach is indicated in yet another paper prepared for Amsterdam.

. . . the basis of our authority to preach the Gospel does not lie in the fact that we can demonstrate—at least to our own satisfaction—that Christianity is superior to other forms of belief, ancient or modern. If we ourselves approach the Gospel . . . as the best among possible cures for human ills, we are bound to misunderstand it. The Gospel is news of God. It is not something offered to man for scrutiny and comparison with other ways of salvation. It is something much more formidable than that;

it is the message to men that their Creator has come to them in judgment and mercy, to lay hold of them and make them His in the perfect fellowship of eternal joy. The Gospel can only answer the needs of twentieth century man if the Church which is entrusted with it recovers the sense that the Gospel is not primarily the answer to men's needs. . . . we must be clear that the mission which we have—its obligation and its authority—comes to us from that meeting with God in Christ and from nowhere else.

(Leslie Newbigin, "The Duty and Authority of the Church to Preach the Gospel," *Amsterdam Conference Series*, Vol. II, p. 22) Behind this impassioned language lurks the grand surmise that our culture-civilization may be saved if we do not work too directly at saving it. Yet this is no strategy for withdrawal, of retreating from the "world"; rather it is a going to the "world" from "that meeting with God in Christ," a moving out in thought, and in compassion, not "with an eye upon possible conversions, but because these are the things love must do" (*Ibid.*, p. 19).

The emphasis upon a confessional base, and an aggressive evangelism was finally incorporated in the final "Message" of the Amsterdam Conference. One of its paragraphs began "When we look to Christ, we see the world as it is . . ." and ended with this woeful note: "As we have talked with one another here, we have begun to understand how our separation has prevented us from receiving correction from one another in Christ. And because we lacked this correction, the world has often heard from us not the Word of God but the words of men." The Message went on to recall "Christians and Christian congregations everywhere" to "commit themselves to the Lord of the Church in a new effort to seek together, where they live, to be His witnesses and servants among their neighbors," learning how to say "Yes" and "No" guided solely by the "love of Christ."

To the extent that men and the cultures they create are the by-products of the faith by which they live, the Churches fulfill their task when they proclaim with authority the "meeting with God in Christ" and so bring "all the common life of men . . . under obedience to Christ."



# HOMILETIC VALUES IN HISTORY

WILLIAM TOTH

"A minister ought to be the best informed man on the face of the earth. He ought to see everything, inquire about everything, and be interested in everything."<sup>1</sup> So spoke Henry Ward Beecher to the young preachers-to-be at Yale Divinity School in the year 1871. And every practicing preacher of the *aeternum verbum Dei* knows that, as the Spirit cometh like the wind we know not from whither, so the truths of God appear in the most unexpected places. "Nothing human is foreign to me" may well be a professional watchword to no other person more appropriately than a preacher alert to fulfill his commission.

By a very simple definition, history is the story of mankind. Hence, it follows that the discipline of history has every claim upon the time and interest of a preacher whose message is about human aims and aspirations, human sins and shortcomings, human needs and tragedies. Like so many other areas of human life, history offers its service to a preacher who is eager to interpret the human situation. The purpose of this essay, therefore, will be to show how history can become the source of homiletic values in the art of presenting the truth of God to our generation.

## I

Several considerations have prompted your essayist to believe that your time this afternoon would be profitably spent in the exploration of this subject.

First, as a practicing preacher he is aware of the sincere desire of every preacher to present the gospel in ways varied enough to retain the interest of his audience. The pulpit sin of monotony haunts us like a plague. Inevitably certain ministers will conceive of the gospel in set patterns and will come to the point where they can present it in those patterns and none other. Professional suicide can result, which, though it be pragmatically explained by some act of moral fearlessness, is nonetheless psychologically traceable to the restiveness of a congregation nourished on a very limited spiritual diet. The preacher, warns Charles Reynolds Brown, "had better vary the pattern as he mints the unsearchable riches into coins which will serve as a circulating medium in the King's business.<sup>2</sup> History will yield homiletic values that can achieve such a variety of patterns, both in ideas and approaches,

if a preacher has his eyes traversing the course of history and the great facts of human experience in the past.

Second, a corrective is urgently needed, especially in a nation and society as exuberantly young as ours in America, to offset an affliction of our generation which someone has called "the disease of contemporaneity." A feeling for the historical appears to be a lack in the modern mind that, ironically, often boasts of being realistic. Problems and solutions spring up with compelling urgency out of the well of present crisis and in the rush of events they are not adequately appraised in relation to what went before. Much exhortation from the pulpit can turn into "sound and fury signifying nothing" in the long run, providing an exhilarating shower of emotionalism but never a rebirth and regeneration, unless ageless perspectives are brought to bear upon our thinking.

We must, of course, be contemporaneous. The most fateful undertaking of a preacher is to analyze his own generation. But it is fatal to forget that the present has emerged out of the past. The past has already crystallized in great forms so that we may study and know them. We shall truly know the men and women of our age and their environment of life only as these are part of the onward sweep of history. The theories and hopes that form the ideals of men today, the spirit that controls their actions, the social, industrial and moral forces claiming our allegiance—all these are subtly related to the climate of living common to man in ages past. To ignore them is to contribute not to the strength of the Church in our day but to its weakness, for truly, "many an attempted reform of the Church has failed because it neglected the claims of the past, and having no roots it withered away."<sup>3</sup> Along with Bishop Oxnam, "I am pleading for a scholarship that will bring the preacher into an understanding of the experience of the race."<sup>4</sup>

Third, there is a challenge in our generation to counterbalance a certain secular tendency to restrict the interpretation of past human events as a domain outside of the jurisdiction of the Church. Some are intent upon forcing through an unnatural divorce of history and religion. History is to be completely "secularized" and religion, if it pleases, may continue as a "social phenomenon" or, in the Marxian view, must be eliminated as a very undesirable "opiate of the people." Our wariness toward this trend in our times is all the more justified as we

keep in mind the frontal attack at this moment being levelled against Christianity by people who recognize the Christian faith as a menace to all that they devoutly hope for out of their sinister designs.

How subtle in its sinister implications this approach to the teaching of history can be is indicated by Dr. Otto Piper who writes, "As a result of the modern presentation of history in both high schools and colleges the average Christian is given the impression that mankind could easily do without Christianity. This disparagement or neglect of Christian history is itself part of the secularization of the modern world. If not counteracted effectively, it is apt to create in the minds of Christians the idea that their belief is a purely private matter with no bearing whatever upon public life and history. As a matter of fact this modern distorted view of history has already done much to hinder and to weaken Christian initiative."<sup>5</sup>

We would not argue for the abandonment of objectivity, which was the hope of nineteenth-century belief, nor for a return to the often naive historical interpretations of medieval historians. What is the problem? "The real problem is whether history itself has a discernible religious significance."<sup>6</sup> As so-called "objective" history and religion face each other on this battle-ground of thought in our time, the impression seems to be abroad that the only attainable objectivity is a "frank and detailed confession of all subjective prejudices."<sup>7</sup> The distinguished Cambridge historian, H. Butterfield, cuts through what might appear to be a gordian knot, "It is true that technical history and historical research only comprise a specialized part of our attitude to the past, and their realm is restricted by the character of the apparatus which they use and the kind of evidence which is available. They provide us with a reasonable assurance that certain things did happen, that they happened in a certain order, and that certain connections exist between them, independent of any philosophy or creed of ours. But for the fulness of our commentary on the drama of human life in time, we have to break through this technique—have to stand back and see the landscape as a whole—and for the sum of our ideas and beliefs about the march of ages we need the poet and the prophet, the philosopher and the theologian. Indeed we decide our total attitude to the whole of human history with a religion, or with

something equivalent to a religion, which generates power and fills the story with significance.”<sup>8</sup>

The essayist is convinced beyond a shadow of doubt that the Christian worldview is the ultimately valid force of integration in history. Christian preachers, therefore, should steep themselves in the study of history in order that in the apologetic for Christian truth they might be a voice calling attention to God in the historical process. “Christianity embodies the whole of history in its universe of meaning,” as Reinhold Niebuhr affirms,<sup>9</sup> and as our generation reconstructs the past it must receive from us the benefit of our interpretation of the story as a whole. The alternative to the Christian integration is a distortion, a jungle of happenings where the soul is hopelessly lost.

The challenge of this apologetic has recently captured the imagination of Christian thinkers, let it be noted. The concern of thought, shifting from the problem of science and religion to the problem of history and religion, has resulted in an encouraging output of interpretations of history in books on “The Meaning of History”, “Meaning in History”, “Faith and History”, “Christianity and the Nature of History” and “God in History”. With the pulpit as their sound-board wide-awake preachers now have the task of weaving Christian convictions on history into popular teaching patterns. This will have the apologetic effect of going a long way to counter-balance the impact of secularism in our day.

## II.

Several fundamental presuppositions to this popular presentation of history at once come to mind.

The first of these is that the preacher must be convinced of the possibility of learning something from the past experience of the race. “History is bunk” could have been a soberly distilled judgment of a Henry Ford without doing more harm than just starting a dangerously misleading *cliche*. But a preacher who is at all sensitive to the deeper currents of the age in which he lives must not allow himself even a shade of the cynicism embodied in this damning view of history, which sometimes finds expression in the oft-quoted statement, “The only thing we learn from history is that we learn nothing from history.” The preacher’s starting point is the insight of James Truslow Adams: “The past is rich in lessons, both profitable and salutary, and we ignore it

only at the cost of bootless stumbling." There is no point to boasting about ancestors unless there is faith that our ancestors have something to say and we are ready to listen. Scorn for the past is an old modernist folly. Preachers need to displace it with that healthy perspective which overrules the false fastidiousness of the cultured and recognizes all guideposts along the highway of history. As a corrective of a superficial evaluation of history I believe with John Buchan, the great English historian, who says somewhere that "History gives us a kind of chart and we dare not surrender even a small rushlight in the darkness. The hasty reformer who does not remember the past will find himself condemned to repeat it."

The possibility of historical knowledge is another presupposition. Whether we can ever be truly objective or no in reconstructing the past is recognizably a debatable matter allowed by most historians. The problem is not unlike the one wrapped up in Pilate's question, "What is truth?". What is history? What can we say? Difficult as it is to achieve total impartiality, complete absence of bias, historians have nevertheless arrived at some vantage ground upon which one can turn their eyes over a span of the world's history and note details of man's social activities, economic, political, educational, artistic and religious with reasonable reliability. Perhaps at best this history is an unfinished symphony. However, this also is true, that more and more of the significant notes are coming into sharper focus so that we can follow the intertwining of the themes with some secure sense that all history is not "make-believe", not the "propaganda of the victorious unknown" nor, much less, "the art of giving meaning to the meaningless."

And this brings me to the major presupposition that must support any presentation of homiletical values that may be found in history, namely, the faith that history has meaning. What the meaning is may be variously interpreted; nevertheless, the homiletical values which accumulate in our studies will depend upon this faith that history is meaningful. The Cambridge professor has put it this way, "Our final interpretation of history is the most sovereign decision we can take, and it is clear that everyone of us, as standing alone in the universe, has to take it for himself. It is our decision about religion, about our total attitude to things, and about the way we will appropriate life. And

it is inseparable from our decision about the role we are going to play ourselves in that very drama of history."<sup>10</sup>

Let us look at the matter from this angle. The real task of the preacher is to lift men above the confusions of the times by giving them elevation and outlook. A true historic sense enables anyone to see himself as part of the procession of men and women into whose life he has fallen as an heir. His legacy is one of truths and spiritual principles which do not change. The past lives in all that we know and feel. A dynamic view of history out of which all this has emerged must have meaning, else nothing human has meaning. There simply is too much revelation for a Christian to agree with anyone who affirms the moral nihilism of history. The Christian preacher will have a positive attitude toward history, a quality of reverence and responsibility, for the very historic truths he professes in his religion were born out of the womb of time and human travail.

A Christian preacher will not only assume a definitely positive attitude but will also be ready with some philosophy of history to answer such questions as, "Is there a meaning in history? Is there a hand behind the chaotic waves of happenings?" In essence, his reply is to point to God "in whose hand is the life of every living thing and the breath of all human beings."<sup>11</sup>

This is the refutation of a person who bluntly affirms, "There is no hand in human events, that is, if you mean the hand of a divine intelligence." This historic nihilism affirms that what is going on in the world is but the working of a clock that has been wound up and has always been rattling. It believes that the impulses of men have always clashed in chaos without any power intent upon bringing order out of chaos and investing human life with rhyme and reason. An indifferent "moving finger writes and having writ, moves on."

Over against this historical pessimism is an optimistic conception of history in our day which is no less dangerous. This view affirms that by virtue of a certain mystic rendezvous with destiny certain groups of our society have a priority on determining the course of human events. This may fall into the mould of fascism or may appear as a "dialectic" with its scheme of the thesis, antithesis and synthesis. In the one instance, the superior power of blood and race is involved as the dynamic of history; in the other, a deterministic proletariat superiority which is forging

ahead, in blithe disregard of capitalistic opposition, bent upon the imminent ushering in of a socialistic heaven on earth and bringing ultimate vindication to the disinherited of the ages. The historic dynamic, according to this view, lies either in the wondrous power of chosen blood or in the eternal hunger for bread in the stomach of the masses.

The essence of these godless views of history is summarized by a modern theologian thus: "We notice in our day a dynamic operative in the history of the nations that is not identical with the sum total of rational wills. It is a 'general will', quite different from what the humanistic philosophy of the eighteenth century meant by this term. It is irrational, morally indifferent, defies international law, and shows no regard for individual life or dignity."<sup>12</sup>

What is the Christian preacher to say out of his experience? He must be able to interpret history in terms of the God of his faith and say with Job that in His "hand is the life of every living thing, and the breath of all human beings." God is in the events of history with His hand outstretched, in a warm, sympathetic way, to pour out blessings upon human life. With all the evil that has deluged our world all kindness is not gone, all truth has not vanished, love still suffers and abounds, the heartstrings of people resonate with overtones other than hate and greed and selfishness. It is our faith that this hand is bending the forces of evil to man's good. God is sovereign over time and eternity and both mercy and judgment belong to Him.

This faith in a God of history is not to put blinders upon us as we scan the record. To have faith never means an escape into the imagery. Faith must be the reality of things not seen. Beyond all that we can comprehend with our limited minds is the realm of God's eternal counsels and purposes. These the Christian trusts with a serene profession, "He is able to do it, being Almighty God, and willing also, being a faithful Father."<sup>13</sup> "This is the faith of a Christian," concludes Dr. Otto Piper, "We know that he who is the Master of history is within us and with us and thus vouchsafes us a great future.... This is the final reason why history is so important a subject for the preacher. In Christ history is no longer a dead past that has merely to be remembered. As the history of the Church it is the work of our Lord Jesus Christ, and whenever we turn to history, we are

turned finally to him who is the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end.”<sup>14</sup>

Such a view the world will call foolishness. What matter? The preacher still must take his faith into the pulpit and affirm with Athanasius, “I, Athanasius, against the whole world; I know I have truth on my side, and therefore against the whole world I stand.” Such a faith turns the tide of human events. Its direction is toward the Kingdom in history.

### III.

Having such fundamental presuppositions as these in mind, we are ready to explore on a more practical level, the possibilities for making use of history in translating the gospel to our people.

The most obvious possibility, of course, is in the field of the historic institution of the Church. One of the preacher’s primary responsibilities is to aid in the perpetuation of that which is the visible body of Christ, the fountainhead of faith. We shall agree, I suppose, that one of the ways of doing this is to build up, deepen and enrich a consciousness of the Church as an instrument of God toward the achievement of His goal. At this point I am thinking of the Church both as an ecumenical entity and also as a denominational and local organizational phenomenon.

In all of history there are no more dramatic themes than those which may be found here. Rightly was it said of the early Christians what can be repeated about a host of their successors that “these are they who hold the world together.” The Christian church has been a leaven, a torchbearer of truth, a militant foe of evil, a trailblazer of social reforms, cement in the midst of disintegration, light in darkness, the balm of Gilead to the distraught and disconsolate, a guide to the lost. Out of that experience a multitude of themes veritably leap into the typewriter of a preacher who is alert to strengthen the mystic tie among the pilgrims of the way. Teachers and preachers, theologians and social reformers, saints and sinners, patriarchs and prophets are ready to speak and be heard. They tell us what the Church has been and could be, if it were fully true to its genius. An Athanasius throws light upon the Trinity even for modern laymen; Augustine will guide him into the mysteries of salvation by grace; Luther can impress him with the meaning of justification by faith; Calvin will hold aloft the concept of divine sovereignty as no other; Wesley will warm the heart to a strange intensity

as he unfolds the imperative of regeneration. A living steward of the unchangeable and indestructible spirit of Christ, Zion City of our God offers infinite possibilities for the preacher to speak glorious things.

This speech can be set, if the preacher is correct in his interpretation, only in the major key. The Church has been a decisive influence upon the making of the modern world. It is silly to contend that nothing essential has changed since the time of Jesus Christ. Christianity has revitalized the ancient world when it was on the verge of collapse; it brought new light to a continent that had been crushed under the impact of teutonic and slav barbarians and left hopelessly languishing for centuries; by it peoples were civilized and Western civilization set in motion to germinate the lives of cultures all over the earth.

Historic consciousness, like charity, begins at home and the preacher's first opportunity is the history of the parish he is serving. He should be busy mastering the annals of his field even before he goes there. Every parish has a history. There are legends worth preserving; there are events which have highlighted the life of a fellowship gathered together. These annals are rich in tragedy, comedy, greed, heroism, sacrifice and devotion. The preacher should see to it that on anniversary occasions or at other appropriate times, in whatever way he can best extract the essence of the gospel, imbedded in local lore, this heritage is not lost to the generation entrusted to his care, but rather is made to be a wellspring of inspiration. The experience of Gerald Kennedy points to what I mean. "I attended a church anniversary one time," he writes,<sup>15</sup> and listened to its history read by one of the elders. It was a story of foreclosures, of unbearable financial burdens, of schisms, and of hopeless debts. As I listened to the frank story of the past, I said to myself, 'Only a church could have endured it and lived'."

The concept of the Church or its role in history are, of course, natural themes for Pentecost. Anniversary occasions like Bible Sunday, national and international missions, Christian Education Day and the like offer a chance to interpret the Church in its varied activities throughout history. An encouraging sign of the deepening consciousness of the historic church has been the more frequent celebration of Reformation Day among our congregations. This occasion need not be one of a destructive, hostile polemic but has possibilities for opening large themes central

to our religion and daily practice and emerging from the spirit of that wonderful assurance of the Apostle John, "The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth: for such doth the Father seek to be his worshippers."<sup>16</sup> Subjects like, "What the Church Believes", "The Why of Protestantism", "Our Protestant Heritage", "Be Glad You Are a Protestant", are basic ideas that readily respond to treatment with, for example, a text like, "Guard that splendid trust through the Holy Spirit that lives in our hearts."<sup>17</sup> In the use of Church History we may well heed the words of Philip Schaff, "Study Church History not only for instruction, but also for warning and encouragement."<sup>18</sup>

The history of our country or of western civilization or of other civilizations should certainly be in the curriculum of reading pursued in the study of a preacher. World history is replete with ideas, especially if one can subscribe to the principle so ably defended by our own Philip Schaff, namely that "History is the biography of the human race."<sup>19</sup> Within the annals that tell of his development in all his physical, intellectual and moral aspects, of his dominion over nature, the response of man to the challenges of his world are ideas that are born out of human experience. The preacher's opportunity is to match the Christian ideas to those which have been evolved by man for handling the human situation. Are ideas like the balance of power, national self-interest, preparation for war, war, associations of victor nations, secret treaties and alliances the solutions for the manifold ills of mankind? What if we honestly tried the great ideas of the living God, Father of all men of every nation and race, of Christ who is the Way and the Truth, of a guiding Spirit that draws all men into the deep fellowship of love and builds the enduring ramparts of a Beloved Community? We may profitably be led to ask ourselves in the course of reading from History and translating general human experience into Christian form, "To what extent and in what ways are the ideals of our faith available to our contemporary human situation?" Where has mankind failed and how could we do better, if we were inclined to heed the lessons of our failures?

Possible occasions for such exploring of human history for the satisfaction of the restless quest of the human heart are presented by Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays, Fourth of July, Armistice Day, Thanksgiving Day, World Order Sunday, Memorial

Day, United Nations Day, and the like. We need to be on our guard, however, not to become haranguers, cheapening the dignity of the pulpit that is dedicated to the truth of God, nor to display faulty insight that can easily be detected by the average student of history sitting in the pew and thus destroy the credibility of our message. What expansive opportunities the great documents of American history provide for pulpit interpretation or events! One of these which your essayist recalls with satisfaction is a sermon on the 425th anniversary of Columbus' first sighting the shores of this continent. It was entitled "At Midnight: Land." Its mood was fitted into the spirit of that matchless sonnet of George Santayana,

O world, thou choosest not the better part!  
It is not wisdom to be only wise,  
And on the inward vision close the eyes,  
But it is wisdom to believe the heart.  
Columbus found a world and had no chart,  
Save one that faith deciphered in the skies;  
To trust the soul's invincible surmise  
Was all his science and his only art.  
Our knowledge is a torch of smoky pine  
Which lights the pathway but one step ahead  
Across a void of mystery and dread.  
Bid, then, the tender lights of faith to shine  
By which alone the heart of man is led  
Unto the thinking of the thought divine.

Perhaps the most fruitful source of homiletical values is to be found in biographies. "Hence the minister should study the art of biography," says Professor Blackwood.<sup>21</sup> Biography can be the gate of conviction. It reveals pictures of human natures like our own. We can more easily visualize ourselves in the concrete situations of people. Systematic philosophical analysis can cause heads to bob in the pew by the very weight of their crystallized truth; but human lives are dynamic and stimulating. As Plato observed of the young men he was teaching, their road to insight was to fall in love with concrete things that were true, honest, noble, of good report, of the essence of living. A community of feeling arises, however, out of the transmuted experience of the life lived by others.

A fundamental truth of Christianity is that moral ideas to be meaningful must become incarnate in personalities. As we bring

to life again the personalities of history the ideas and ideals which went into the stuff of their uniqueness live again for our people and by a strange chemistry of the spirit enter into the process of molding their character. Outstanding historical personages, through the art of the preacher's technique, will be a revelation and a challenge to the laymen in the pew as they can be also for the voice in the pulpit. "While we do not worship saints, we should not fall into the opposite extreme and ignore their existence altogether. The study of Christian biography will yield more valuable material to the preacher than the study of volumes of sermons."<sup>22</sup>

Professor Blackwood in his book *Preaching from the Bible* has some things to say about biographical sermons on Biblical characters, which, I feel, are equally applicable to any biographical sermon. Biographical sermons, he says, lend themselves to various uses, such as preaching doctrine, personal ethics or social ethics. They lend themselves to use on Commencement Day when life decisions are in the balance. They lend themselves to needs of special occasions and days of upheaval. They may be preached singly or in a series. He offers two pregnant topics for a series—*The Faith of Our Fathers* and *Spiritual Adventures Through the Ages*. This list can be extended, of course, according to the bent of the preacher's mind, the spirit and mood of the times, or the needs of the people. To mention only a few, we commend the following series for the adventurous preacher: Cultivators of the Roots of American Liberty, Men Who Found God, Heroes of the Faith, Famous Martyrs of the Early Church, The Church Under the Cross, Founders of Living Denominations, Great Thinkers of the Ages, Ambassadors of God, Men of Action for the Faith, The Religion of Great Statesmen, The Religion of Nation Builders, The Rogues of History, Great Enemies of the Faith, The Religion of Business Men, Great Conversions: From Faithlessness to Faith, and so on.

Often the texts can afford a real challenge to the preacher and a genuine spiritual experience for the hearers. To illustrate what I mean, let me quote the title and text of a few biographical sermons from Benjamin Jowett. While the treatment of his themes is rather ponderous, his texts are a thrill. Preaching on John Wycliffe his text is Isaiah 40:3, "The Voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the Lord." The text for the sermon on Ignatius Loyola is Hebrews XI:4, "He

being dead yet speaketh." For his sermon on Blaise Pascal he uses the Wisdom of Solomon 4:13, "He being made perfect in a short time fulfilled a long time."<sup>23</sup> The fault I find with his sermonic treatment is that the result is more a biographical eulogy than a presentation accenting the truths of the gospel as they became incarnate. For even in a biographical sermon we should be primarily concerned with this one needful thing. If we are not, the historical treatment is not justified.

While more may be said on this aspect of our subject, let me emphasize, finally, my concurrence with the rule set up by Professor Blackwood for a biographical series, "Plan everything before you announce anything."<sup>24</sup> This is paramount.

Another possibility for using historical writings lies in the field of illustrations. Every sermon needs illustrations, as we know, to provide those windows through which eternal truths may be more clearly seen. Most preachers frequently find themselves up against it in putting their fingers on telling illustrations. History is inexhaustible in illustrations that are potent to arrest the attention and effective to secure the memory.

Some of these illustrations have already been "canned" and put in first-aid kits, but a wise and experienced preacher will avoid these in favor of those which come fresh from his reading. What happened in Luther's life or what Alexander the Great said will go farther in bringing about conviction, if the preacher is acquainted with the situation at first hand. Let the preacher, if he must, glean the field and store the results in his indexed files, but the important thing is that he appropriate significant historical materials so that when he makes use of them, they will "come running with a kind of inevitableness."<sup>25</sup>

Several simple rules may be observed both for gathering materials and presenting them to an audience. Be careful to differentiate between fact and fancy. The force of an illustration may be lost, if what is legendary is presented as an actual historical incident and vice versa. Choose your illustrations carefully. I venture the suggestion that the wisest principle to follow is that of brevity and pointedness. Train your imagination, that indispensable characteristic of a good preacher, both in selecting incidents for future use and in presenting them in the context of the sermon. Discard the involved incident, requiring extended elaboration for a background, in favor of a simple and direct

situation, mindful that an illustrator is most effective, if he proceeds from the known to the unknown. Controversial matters of history are also prudent to avoid, or if they are pertinent to a discussion, delicacy in handling is of utmost importance. In any case, something must be left to the imagination of the audience in reconstructing the setting of incidents and in perceiving the truth presented. Use your words boldly as a painter employs his colors on the canvas and leave as much as possible to be filled in by the intelligence of your hearers. If you quote, do so sparingly and judiciously, if only to keep from parading a "superficial omniscience", the net result of which always is a patchwork and not an organic vital message of the heart.

"How much our congregations would gain," says a modern teacher of the church,<sup>26</sup> "if we illustrated the argument of our sermons with biographical accounts taken from Church History and abandoned the bad habit of telling sentimental stories, which have little or no bearing upon the text of our sermon." And balancing the ledger, we may also say, how much wisdom a preacher would gain, if he added to his own experience life-situations that are based upon actual happenings. "Illustrations from the lives of historical personalities," remarks Dr. Sockman,<sup>27</sup> "are far more arresting and convincing than analogies, however clever." And he adds, "But let us be careful about the historicity of our biographical material. And let us not in Emil Ludwig fashion take liberties with the minds of celebrities by reading plausible motives into their actions. Integrity is as truly a Christian virtue as is piety." "The historian does not have direct access to the insides of the people he deals with; he imagines that they must have profundities of mind and motive, tremendous corridors and recesses within, just as he has himself; but he has to piece these out from scraps of external evidence and he must use his imaginative sympathy, must give something of himself, to the reconstruction of historical character."<sup>28</sup> This can be done only in sincerity and honesty, as we transport ourselves to the age in which our historical personalities lived, labored and thought.

In conclusion, let me briefly indicate some of the pitfalls which are to be avoided in using homiletical values taken out of history.

Remember that historical materials are to be used as an aid in presenting the gospel and not as a substitute for it. A histori-

cal sermon is never a lecture nor is it an obituary. As we think of the mission of the pulpit no purpose is served in reviving sham battles of the past. Using historical materials is not opening the crypt of history and revealing dead bones but rather invoking the spirits of those who have gone before and letting them speak in the communion of deathless spirits. Any use made of historical materials must occur as the preacher is *en rapport* with his audience and with that integrity which should always characterize the preacher's treatment of his observations of reality in the light of Christian tradition. Lastly, as has been wisely observed, "if a sermon does not carry an unmistakable accent of reality, then, even though every rule is honored, that sermon will be vanity and vexation."<sup>29</sup> And this applies to preaching from history as it does to any other kind of sermon.

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- (26) Piper, Ib., p. 122.
- (27) Sockman, R. W., *The Highway of God*, N. Y., 1942, p. 119.
- (28) Butterfield, Ib., p. 17-18.
- (29) Buttrick, G. A., *Jesus Came Preaching*, N. Y., 1931, p. 164.

# SPIRITUALS FROM THE PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH COUNTRY

By DON YODER

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Something new under the American sun was born shortly after the Revolution when Methodism invaded the Pennsylvania Dutch Country. In its wake this intensely evangelistic British-American movement left among the German-speaking population living between the Delaware and the Juniata a whole host of new German Methodistic denominations—the Evangelical Association, the United Brethren, the Church of God, the United Zion's Children, the United Christians, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, and several smaller groups.

What evolved through this impact of Methodist evangelism on the Pennsylvania Dutch Country was a new type of religious institution—a group of churches modeled on Methodistic lines, sharing the Methodists' concern for morality and discipline and organized along the circuit-riding pattern—but speaking the German tongue. As I like to put it, "The hands were Esau's, but the voice was Jacob's." For these churches were a hybrid product, something new and peculiarly American.

It was at the "Bush Meetings" of the Evangelicals and United Brethren folk that the "Pennsylvania Dutch Spiritual," a new type of religious song in America, was born. Now the "bush meeting" was the Pennsylvania Dutch counterpart of the Methodist and Baptist "camp meeting," which originated in Kentucky in 1799-1800, and spread like a meteor down into the Deep South, crackled its fiery way across the Ohio into the Old Northwest, and flamed back across the Alleghenies into the older settlements of the Atlantic seaboard. And sometime in the decade 1800-1810, the camp meeting reached Eastern Pennsylvania.

Besides the "bush meetings," which were held in the summer period when there was a lull in the harvest work, there were also the winter "protracted meeting" [*verlængerte Versammlung* or *Langi Meetin*] and the "social meetings"—prayer or class meetings [*Betschtunde* and *Bekenntnisschtunde*] at which the spirituals were featured. The "church year" of these informal frontier groups was thus centered about the two "revival seasons"

of winter and summer, and wherever possible, the fires kindled then were kept fanned by constant direct evangelistic preaching, and round after round of spiritual singing, at the weekly "social meetings" and worship services in the little white churches that sprang up in village and valley of Eastern Pennsylvania. The historic Catholic "church year" meant nothing to the revivalist Christian!

### The Rise of the Spiritual

Now the "camp meeting people" of the West and South, the Methodists and Baptists and other frontier groups with an informal approach to worship were in the process of developing a new American revivalist hymnody of their own, spontaneous, original in both words and music. The "white spiritual," whose history has been so carefully traced by George Pullen Jackson, was being born. As the camp meeting was developed on American soil to meet the new frontier conditions by recruiting church members en masse, so the old and staid hymnody of the British Isles was scrapped or retreaded into something that fitted more harmoniously into the American picture.

The English-speaking whites of the South and West developed the spiritual, and two other groups of the American population borrowed them and reworked them, shaping them to fit their own needs. The American Negro slave took over the spiritual from his white master and made it something expressive of his own deep spiritual longings. No one would deny, of course, that even though he borrowed the spiritual, the Negro made them peculiarly his own. The other group which appropriated this body of revival song was the "bush meeting" people of the Pennsylvania Dutch country. They borrowed the revival songs sung by their English-speaking Methodist neighbors and friends, translated them into German or Pennsylvania Dutch, reworked them, and composed others that were original. Thus both of these groups borrowed the tunes and texts of many of their songs from the English whites, but remodeled them into something distinctive and original.

### We Call Them "Choruses"

Now when you ride out into the hills and valleys of the Dutch Country to gather spirituals, you do not ask for "spirituals." For like most Americans, our Dutch folk have been taught (wrongly, however, as I have pointed out) that the "spiritual" is the ex-

clusive possession of the Negro of Harlem and the Deep South. But when you ask that stout Dutch housewife who goes to the E. U. B. Church in the next block if she can sing any of the old "Dutch choruses," her eyes will brighten and you'll be lucky if you get away that afternoon at all.

For the principle involved in the "white spiritual" was the development of a "chorus,"—three or four lines, usually repetitious, and expressive of a particular religious emotion—conversion, pilgrimage, "happiness" in the Lord. "They took a word and made a song out of it," one of my informants told me. As an example, take the familiar song about "free grace and endless love":

*Freie Gnad un endliche Lieb!*      Free grace and endless love!  
*Freie Gnad un endliche Lieb!*      Free grace and endless love!  
*Freie Gnad un endliche Lieb!*      Free grace and endless love!  
*Drouwwe in der Nei Yerusalem!*      Yonder in the New Jerusalem!

which expresses in Dutch the Methodist gospel of "free grace" and "God's endless love" for suffering mankind.

To the revival chorus was set a heterogeneous series of "rhyme pairs" or quatrains, which could be drawn from two sources. They could be taken from favorite hymns in the standard hymnals; or else they could be made up on the spot by some "bush meeting" poet, and, catching on in the minds and hearts of the auditors, become incorporated into the new body of revival song.

The Methodist and Baptist revivalists of the South and West created their spirituals by a combination of original chorus and adaptable verses, which when combined form a "spiritual" of recognizable outlines. Our Pennsylvania Dutch revivalists did exactly the same thing, except that for verses they drew upon the standard German hymns in the Lutheran and Reformed hymnals instead of the Watts-Wesley cycle of hymns in the song-books of their English-speaking Methodist brethren.

Undoubtedly the revival chorus is America's most original and most influential contribution to Christian hymnody, for until the chorus developed as the product of the American evangelical awakenings, American hymns were devoid of choruses, consisting only of a succession, a lengthy and often dull one at that, of hymn verses. The revival chorus was partly a natural expression of revival exuberance which led the convert to express his

emotion by seizing on the most important thought of his conversion experience and making a chorus out of it. And partly, perhaps basically, the revival hymns began to take on choruses, because they grew up in the realm of the folksong and the tunes used were modeled on the folk tunes of early America, which alternated verse and chorus, or refrain, in the same manner as do our spirituals.

### The Four Spiritual Patterns

Among the Pennsylvania Dutch people, as among the "camp meeting" folk of South and West, there are only a limited number of spiritual patterns. The first and simplest type of Pennsylvania Dutch spiritual was what I call the "chorus-verse" type. It consists of a chorus, alternating with verses drawn from an established literary hymn. Take this chorus, for instance:

|                                      |                                       |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>Singet Hallelujah!</i>            | <i>Sing ye Hallelujah!</i>            |
| <i>Singet Hallelujah!</i>            | <i>Sing ye Hallelujah!</i>            |
| <i>Singet Glorie, singet Halle—,</i> | <i>Sing ye Glory, sing ye Halle—,</i> |
| <i>Singet Hallelujah!</i>            | <i>Sing ye Hallelujah!</i>            |

To this was put the old favorite hymn:

|                                   |                                  |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>Mein Seel ist so herrlich,</i> | <i>My soul is full of glory,</i> |
| <i>Mein Herz so voll Lieb,</i>    | <i>Inspiring my tongue;</i>      |
| <i>Nun winsch ich zu singen,</i>  | <i>Could I meet with angels,</i> |
| <i>Den Engel ein Lied.</i>        | <i>I would sing them a song.</i> |

More complicated is the second type of spiritual pattern, the "interpolated rhyme-pair" type. In this the verses consist of a single couplet or "rhyme-pair," into which have been interpolated the refrain lines of the chorus. "Jesus says he will be with us to the end," that universal favorite among all camp-meeting attendants, became in the Pennsylvania Dutch country:

|                                       |                                       |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>Yesus wor schun mit uns</i>        | <i>Jesus has been with us</i>         |
| <i>Un er iss noch bei uns</i>         | <i>And he still is with us</i>        |
| <i>Un er sagt er will sei bei uns</i> | <i>And he says he will be with us</i> |
| <i>Bis ans End!</i>                   | <i>To the end!</i>                    |

This chorus is accompanied by verses, which, with the punch line of the chorus interpolated into them, go something like this:

|  |
|--|
| <i>Yetz hawwich widder neie Mut</i>                |
| <i>Yesus sagt er will sei bei uns bis ans End!</i> |

Ya, Gott sei Dank, es geht yo gut  
*Yesus sagt er will sei bei uns bis ans End!*

Of strengthened faith I'm glad to tell  
Jesus says he will be with us to the end!  
Yes, thanks to God, I'm doing well  
Jesus says he will be with us to the end!

A more complex interpolation is involved in the spiritual "Living Water," which is sung in both English and German versions in Eastern Pennsylvania:

*Glory zu Gott!*  
*Wir trinken Lebens Wasser!*  
*Glory zu Gott!*  
*Wir sind auf der Reise heim!*  
Glory to God!  
We're at the Fountain drinking!  
Glory to God!  
We're on our Journey home!

The German version forms its verses in this manner:

*Hett ich Fliggel wie Engelein*  
*Wir trinken Lebens Wasser!*  
*So bald werd ich im Himmel sein*  
*Wir sind auf der Reise heim!*  
If only I could fly away  
We're at the Fountain drinking!  
I'd fly to Heaven right away  
We're on our Journey home!

A third spiritual pattern involves what I call the "Freindschaft song." In Pennsylvania the German word *Freundschaft* (dialect: *Freindschaft*) means not the cognate word "friendship" but rather "family" in the larger sense of relationship. Hence there are spirituals like "The Old-Time Religion," which introduce to us in successive verses, often without chorus alternation, fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, and everyone else that "religion is good for." And as George Pullen Jackson put it in one of his many books on the white spiritual, the old-time religion was good for "practically everybody"—Paul and Silas, Mary and Martha, Brother Daniel, yes, even "Father Wesley" and "Brother Cookman," the last-named a famed Methodist pulpiteer of Eastern Pennsylvania—as well as a host of lesser worthies. Pennsylvania Dutch

people of course sing this song in translation, "Siss des gudi aldi Warrick," which has a peculiar "swing" all its own.

### "Way Yonder in the Promised Land"

One of the favorite "Freindschaft songs" among the United Brethren folk of the Lykens Valley of Dauphin and Schuylkill Counties is "Weit niwwer ins Gelobte Land," which goes as follows:

*Chorus:*

Weit niwwer ins Gelobte Land  
Weit niwwer ins Gelobte Land  
Mein Heiland ruft un ich muss geh  
Niwwer ins Gelobte Land!

1. Vaeter hawwen mir im Gelobte Land  
Vaeter hawwen mir im Gelobte Land  
Mein Heiland ruft un ich muss geh  
Niwwer ins Gelobte Land!

*Chorus:*

2. Mitter hawwen mir im Gelobte Land  
Mitter hawwen mir im Gelobte Land  
Mein Heiland ruft un ich muss geh  
Niwwer ins Gelobte Land!

*Chorus:*

3. Brieder hawwen mir im Gelobte Land  
Brieder hawwen mir im Gelobte Land  
Mein Heiland ruft un ich muss geh  
Niwwer ins Gelobte Land!

*Chorus:*

4. Schweschdren hawwen mir im Gelobte Land  
Schweschdren hawwen mir im Gelobte Land  
Mein Heiland ruft un ich muss geh  
Niwwer ins Gelobte Land!

*Chorus:*

5. Kinder hawwen mir im Gelobte Land  
Kinder hawwen mir im Gelobte Land  
Mein Heiland ruft un ich muss geh  
Niwwer ins Gelobte Land!

*Chorus:*

6. Yesus hawwen mir im Gelobte Land  
Yesus hawwen mir im Gelobte Land  
Mein Heiland ruft un ich muss geh  
Niwwer ins Gelobte Land!

Chorus:

Chorus:

Way yonder in the Promised Land  
Way yonder in the Promised Land  
My Savior calls and I must go  
Yonder in the Promised Land!

1. We have fathers in the Promised Land  
We have fathers in the Promised Land  
My Savior calls and I must go  
Yonder in the Promised Land!

Chorus:

2. We have mothers in the Promised Land  
We have mothers in the Promised Land  
My Savior calls and I must go  
Yonder in the Promised Land!

Chorus:

3. We have brothers in the Promised Land  
We have brothers in the Promised Land  
My Savior calls and I must go  
Yonder in the Promised Land!

Chorus:

4. We have sisters in the Promised Land  
We have sisters in the Promised Land  
My Savior calls and I must go  
Yonder in the Promised Land!

Chorus:

5. We have children in the Promised Land  
We have children in the Promised Land  
My Savior calls and I must go  
Yonder in the Promised Land!

Chorus:

6. We have Jesus in the Promised Land  
We have Jesus in the Promised Land  
My Savior calls and I must go  
Yonder in the Promised Land!

Chorus:

And by the time the brethren and sisters have sung that, and clapped their way through its engaging rhythm, it's time for a prayer, a testimony of God's grace, or another round of song!

**"My Journey Soon is Done"**

A fourth type of spiritual is the "spiritual without chorus." The best known example of this in the English camp-meeting books is the universally known

*Come to Jesus, come to Jesus,  
Come to Jesus just now!  
Just now come to Jesus,  
Come to Jesus just now!*

The following verses, sung without an interpolated chorus, urge the sinner—"only trust him—just now," "call upon him—just now," and so on up to a total of seventeen verses. The delight with which this and its German translation, "*Kumm zu Yesu graad nau*" has been sung over the years doubtless lies in the ingenious reversal of the words in line three, and the catchy tune, as well as the solemn words of invitation with which the hymn begins.

Another example of a "spiritual without chorus" is the solemn and thrilling "*Die zeit kartzt immer ab*" (My time is getting short), in which similar declarative statements are repeated in a succession of verses, without benefit of chorus. As sung in the Lykens Valley, the home area of my family, the song goes like this:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Die Reis kartzt immer ab</i><br><i>Die Reis kartzt immer ab</i><br><i>Die Reis, die Reis</i><br><i>Kartzt immer ab!</i> | 1. My journey soon is done<br>My journey soon is done<br>My journey, my journey<br>Soon is done! |
| 2. <i>Noch Nei Yerusalem</i><br><i>Noch Nei Yerusalem</i><br><i>Noch Nei, Noch Nei</i><br><i>Yerusalem!</i>                   | 2. To New Jerusalem<br>To New Jerusalem<br>To New, to New<br>Jerusalem!                          |

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 3. <i>Datt weinen wir nicht mehr</i><br><i>Datt weinen wir nicht mehr</i><br><i>Datt wein—, datt weinen</i><br><i>Wir nicht mehr!</i> | 3. There we will weep no more<br>There we will weep no more<br>There we, there we<br>Will weep no more! |
| 4. <i>Gott wischt die Traene ab</i><br><i>Gott wischt die Traene ab</i><br><i>Gott wischt, Gott wischt</i><br><i>Die Traene ab!</i>   | 4. God takes our tears away<br>God takes our tears away<br>God takes, God takes<br>Our tears away!      |

### The Themes of Our Spirituals

Only when one looks at the Pennsylvania Dutch Spiritual en masse and sets it in its background as the hymnodic expression of their revivalistic approach to religion does one realize the greatness of what they created. For while the spirituals would not be looked upon with favor in a "choral eucharistic" setting in one of the liturgical churches, they were a well-rounded body of hymnody for a revivalistic type of denomination. Practical as was the Pennsylvania Dutch farmer himself, they deal with every phase of the all-important conversion experience. Like the moralistic "circuit-rider" biographies of the Victorian era, the spirituals had an evangelistic purpose. For in pioneer America both biography and hymnody were handmaidens of evangelism. In both of them the spiritual arrows of God's grace were poised on the bow, ready to fly at the hearts of the sinner.

When arranged, as I have arranged them, on the basis of their purpose as well as their content, the Pennsylvania Dutch spirituals fall into the same categories as the hymns in the songbooks of the Salvation Army. The logical place to begin is with the hymns of "Invitation and Warning." In them the sinner is either "invited" to "come to Jesus—just now," or a dead earnest attempt is made to scare him from the perilous pastime of sporting on the brink of everlasting woe. He is frankly told that "time is getting short" (*Die zeit katzt immer ab.*) If he tries to slip into Heaven without a conversion experience and sans the strict morality of the "bush meeting" groups, he is reminded that "none but the righteous shall see God" (*Keine als Gerechte schauen Gott*). Or with tears in their eyes the converts will tell their erring brother (or sister) to "look away to Calvary" (*Schauet hien auf Golgotha*), and meditate on the suffering love of the Savior. As the signs of conviction begin to dawn, they plead with him, "O

come to thy Jesus—he alone can save you” (*O kummt zu eirem Yesus*).

“Now is the acceptable time” might be the text of the songs in the second category which deal with the actual process of conversion. “The waters of grace are flowing,” and the prospective convert is urged, in lines reminiscent of the Pool of Bethesda, to “get in the stream” (*Schteig in den Schtrom*)—at once! By this time the air is ringing with the insistent rhythm of

|                                   |                                     |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>O Ha, schenk uns die Gnade</i> | <i>O Lord, send us thy blessing</i> |
| <i>O Ha, schenk uns die Gnade</i> | <i>O Lord, send us thy blessing</i> |
| <i>O Ha, schenk uns die Gnade</i> | <i>O Lord, send us thy blessing</i> |
| <i>O schenk uns die Gnade</i>     | <i>O send us thy blessing</i>       |
| <i>Vom Himmel her!</i>            | <i>From heaven above!</i>           |

or “O God, let down thy power” (*O Gott, loss runner deini Graft*). Finally the convert, moved to the depths of his being, “feels something new” in his soul, for the Master has taken possession of his will at last (*Un ich fehl ebbes neies*).

### “Give Me That Old-Time Religion!”

The new convert who has had his dark soul illumined by the light of the world, can truly sing “religion is the best of all” (*Bekehrung iss des beschte Warrick*). In joyous bursts of song that punctuate the meeting like flashes of spiritual lightning he praises the “full salvation” (*Felliges Heil*) that has come to his life, and he now tells others of the “happiness in his soul” (*Siss seliches Leben in meiner Seel*). Using prospecting terms from the Gold Rush days, he sings of the “stake” he has “claimed” (*Ich hab en Recht datt droven*) in that heavenly world, and feeling as he does, our convert might even lead the entire group in singing a song whose tune would be immediately familiar to all our readers whether or not they understood his words:

|                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Siss des gudi aldi Warrick</i>   | Give me that Old-Time Religion |
| <i>Siss des gudi aldi Warrick</i>   | Give me that Old-Time Religion |
| <i>Siss des gudi aldi Warrick</i>   | Give me that Old-Time Religion |
| <i>Un siss gut genunk far mich!</i> | For it's good enough for me!   |

Other spirituals laud Jesus the Saviour in the warmest of language. Similar in spirit it not in form to the medieval hymns in praise of Jesus are such Dutch spirituals as “O how lovely is Jesus” (*O wie lieblich . . . iss Yesus*), “Praise the Lord, O My Soul” (*Lob den Hann, O mei Seel*), “Sing ye Hallelujah” (*Singet*

*Hallelujah*), and “Sing ye, O sing ye, O sing ye in praise” (*Singet, o singet, o singet zu Ehr*). And you and I and all of us will “give Him the Glory” in Dutch as well as in English:

*Un ich will geben Gott die Ehri  
Un du muscht geben Gott die Ehri  
Un wir geben ihm all die Ehri  
In Nei Yerusalem!  
In Yerusalem, in Yerusalem!  
Un wir geben ihm all die Ehri  
In Nei Yerusalem!*

And I will give my God the Glory  
And you must give thy God the Glory  
And all of us give him the Glory  
In New Jerusalem!  
In Jerusalem, in Jerusalem!  
And all of us give him the Glory  
In New Jerusalem!

Among the most popular of all the “bush meeting” songs are the “Songs of the Christian Pilgrimage.” For the “bush meeting” Christian was always pressing on toward Heaven (*Ich ring far der Himmel*), “walking in the Light,” (*Lasst uns geh in dem Licht*), over the Narrow Way” (*Schmal iss der Weg*), heading up over the rocky heights to Zion (*Mir gehn nach Zion*). And he was “happy on the way” (*Hallich uff der Reis*), singing as he went along. “Ever nearer” (*Wir kummen immer næcher*) come the white-clad palm-waving Pilgrims (Pennsylvania Dutch farmers in disguise), and at last, on the banks of the rolling Jordan they “view the Promised Land” (*Weit iwwer den Yadden*). Across its waters twinkle the lights of the New Jerusalem, a city whose geography and street-plan was more familiar to the bush meeting people than Reading or Allentown or York.

### Songs of a Troubled Soul

Occasionally along the way some troubled soul sings of discouragement and despair. Life’s many tragedies remind the pilgrim that “we must suffer here on earth, suffer even unto death” (*Leiden missen mir auf Erden*), and he asks God, when He sits upon His Throne, to “remember” him (*Gedenk an mich*). When his step begins to falter as the strength of maturity disappears and

white-thatched old age takes its place, our pilgrim can be heard to sing:

|                                 |                             |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Ich waer so gern</i>         | How long till I             |
| <i>Ich waer so gern</i>         | How long till I             |
| <i>Ich waer so gern daheim!</i> | How long till I reach home? |
| <i>Ich waer so gern</i>         | How long till I'm           |
| <i>Wu Yesus iss</i>             | Where Jesus is              |
| <i>Ich waer so gern daheim!</i> | How long till I reach home? |

And all the pilgrims echo back, as they hear the discouraged ones complaining—wait, friends, “There's a better day a-coming.”

*Chorus:*

*Siss en bessere Dag am kommen,  
Hallich watt's im Himmel sein!  
Siss en bessere Dag am kommen—  
Die ewiche Ruh!*

1. *Sie sawe mir sin so laudi Liet—  
Im Himmel watt's noch lauder sein!*

*Chorus:*

*Siss en bessere Dag am kommen,  
Hallich watt's im Himmel sein!  
Siss en bessere Dag am kommen—  
Die ewiche Ruh!*

*Chorus:*

*There's a better day a coming,  
Blessed Heaven will be ours!  
There's a better day a coming—  
Everlasting rest!*

1. *Folks do complain how loud we get--  
In Heaven we'll be louder yet!*

*Chorus:*

*There's a better day a coming,  
Blessed Heaven will be ours!  
There's a better day a coming—  
Everlasting rest!*

Finally at the call of the Lord, the Pilgrims cross over into Eternity (*Weit niwwer in die Ewigkeit*). And Heaven rings with the shouts of the redeemed as God's angels stand on the heights of Zion and sing their “Welcome Home” (*Un sie singen*

*ihrer Welcome Heim zu mir*). Tired old Dutch farmers and their hardworking wives greet the loved ones who have gone on before (*Datt dreffen wir wieder uns aan*). And as they walk admiringly through the “Golden Gates” that gleamed from afar the pilgrims are at last with their Lord. The aged saints try on their crowns of gold won after incessant struggles against the Tempter here below (*Am End fun der Reis datt dragen wir die Gron*) and sing their “Alleluia to the Lamb” (*Hallelujah zu dem Lamme*).

And you may be sure that our “bush meeting” pilgrims refuse, with side glances of amused tolerance, all the offers of golden harps and official hymnbooks made by the Lord’s Harp Commissioners to each new contingent of pilgrims. Other pilgrims with less lusty singing voices and poorer memories may find the heavenly harps and hymnals useful, but the “bush meeting” folk are content to sing to their Lord the simple and moving songs of the tented grove. And who is there to say that the Carpenter of Nazareth would reject these sincere songs wrung from the life trials and triumphs of uneducated, care-laden carpenters—and farmers—and housewives—of the Dutch Country?

Yes, it’s all there—the Christian life from the first conquering of temptation and the inflooding of the divine life into the vessel of clay, through the lifelong pilgrimage of humanity to the City of God. Theirs was a religion of confidence and victory, these were songs of the victors in the lifelong struggle against sin. They were those who could say, like Andrew to his brother Simon, “Come and see.”

### **The Social Conscience of the Bush Meeting Folk**

When one looks at the total corpus of the spirituals one also sees certain areas of the religious life which are totally lacking in this body of hymnody. The modern twentieth-century Christian, under the influence of the activistic and American “Social Gospel,” throws up his hands in horror when he hears these songs. “Too otherworldly!” he cries. “Why this preoccupation with Heaven?” he asks. It is true of course that many of the “choruses” look with confidence to a blessed life beyond the grave, but it does by no means follow that the “bush meeting” people had no concern for the salvation of the society in which they lived and moved and had if not their being, at least their livelihood.

Exactly the contrary is true! For although there is a rosy other-

worldly coloring to these songs, which can be explained from the struggle of life and its hard work in pioneer America, which affected the Pennsylvania Dutchman as well as the western pioneer—these “bush meeting” folk—had their feet on the ground. In the great period of decision that America faced in the nineteenth century, which Pennsylvania Dutch religious groups came out with an unequivocal “no” on the question of human slavery? Certainly not the majority churches, the Lutheran and Reformed. But while many Lutherans and Reformed were looking the other way and denying that they were their brother’s keeper, Evangelical and United Brethren circuit-riders were preaching a gospel of freedom which included freedom for the oppressed Negro slave. The same division is apparent in the great temperance crusade of the nineteenth century, when whole Pennsylvania communities were reformed by the circuit-riders of the “bush meeting” groups. So while the “bush meeting” Christian sang of Heaven, his hands were busy reshaping whole communities by the refining fires of “bush meeting” evangelism.

Although our songs are closely related to the Negro spiritual, for both of them were borrowed from the same source, it is undeniably true that ours lack the vivid and primitive biblical imagery of the latter. The American Negro, with an untutored historical sense, identified himself in a peculiar measure with the suffering Children of Israel in the Good Book. Hence he could sing, and feel himself a part of, songs like “Let my people go,” “Ezekiel saw the wheels,” “Joshua fit the battle of Jericho,” and other historically based spirituals. If the Old Testament “belongs” to any people besides the Jews, whose history it chronicles, it belongs to the American Negro, for he has felt his way into it like no other Christian group. Hence among the Pennsylvania Dutch, at least until the Gospel Song reached Eastern Pennsylvania after the Civil War, we have nothing comparable to the ballad or story-type Negro spirituals which in a few repetitious lines capture the dramatic essence of an Old Testament scene. True, there is the hymn which tells us (among other things) how God gave “sweet rest” to Brother Daniel, after he shut the lions’ mouths (*Mein Herze brennt von Liebe heut*) and the hymn about the Wise and Foolish Virgins (*Ermuntert euch, ihr Frommen!*), but these do not rank in vivid visual imagery with the biblical spirituals of the American Negro.

## **"Working Out Our Salvation"**

Another difference is that where the Negro poured out his agonized soul in minor tunes, the tunes of the Pennsylvania Dutch spirituals struck a note of joy and confidence. There were sociological reasons for this. For the daily work of the Pennsylvania farmer, while not free of disappointment and trial, was not the blind alley that swallowed all the earthly hopes of the Negro slave. Hence our "bush meeting" Christian sang not of chariots "swinging low" to remove him from an impossible situation, but rather applied the concepts of working to his spiritual life. Like everything else, Heaven was to be gained through hard work, so the Dutch farmer sang (drowning out the hearty cries of "Pclagianism" that came from his more theologically-learned neighbors), joyously and confidently, "*Ich will schaffen, ich will schaffen, bis ich ewich selich wa*"—"I will labor, I will labor, until I gain my salvation." For he lived in the blessed assurance that somehow he was working out his salvation, in fear and trembling, and the work as well as the reward was part of the whole pattern of his life.

The last charge leveled at the spirituals by the enemies of the "bush meeting" folk is that they are "too emotional." Since when does emotion have to be bowed out of the church? If religion is to reshape man's life, it must touch the heart as well as the mind. Looking at the Protestant Reformation objectively, it becomes apparent that the orthodox Protestant groups, in their rejection of the sacrifice of the mass, lost as well as gained. In their attempt to intellectualize worship, they too frequently squeezed out of the worship service too much of the emotion of adoration and wonder and the sense of Christ's presence that the devout Catholic worshiper feels in attending at mass. The Lutheran and Reformed services in the old "union churches" of Eastern Pennsylvania, at least in those dark days after the Revolution, were admittedly cold and formal. Hence with the rise of the "bush meeting" and the evangelistic type of religion accompanying it, the emotional needs of the average Christian were better supplied in the tense, warm and spontaneous atmosphere of the "bush meeting," where the very air seemed to tingle with the presence of the Holy Spirit, as at Pentecost.

### **That Personal Touch**

The only answer to the charge that the bush meeting songs are

too emotional is to point to their results in winning souls, as over against the more staid and literary type of singing practiced by the Lutherans and Reformed. Frankly emotional because they were personal, full of "you's" and "me's," they were aimed at converting the souls of sinners. And they did redirect the lives of thousands of men and women not only in Eastern Pennsylvania, but wherever the "bush meeting" people are found, in Canada, the South, and the Midwest.

If in time the "bush meeting" religious experience, which these songs themselves encouraged, itself became standardized and the familiar "conversion experience" was set up as an iron mold through which all souls had to be pressed as in a waffle iron—and even the "shouts" became standardized, the process simply underlines the fact that revivalism, like all other forms of religion, can descend to the level of formality. For today the historic period of the "bush meeting" in Eastern Pennsylvania is long since past, and even though there are "camp meetings" and "revival meetings" here in the East, it is obvious that they have passed the peak of their usefulness, and today are being strengthened with artificial preservatives. But from the earlier days come echoes of the pristine power of American revivalism in the ancient Pennsylvania Dutch Spirituals which we present in this article.

### **Pennsylvania's Greatest Contribution to American Folklore**

Looking at the "Bush Meeting" spirituals in relation to the other German hymnodic tradition of the other German churches, it becomes clear that these ingenuous and original products of the tented grove are Pennsylvania's most important contribution not only to the folksong but also to American hymnody. I know of no Lutheran or Reformed hymn of American provenance which ever spread very widely among the non-German groups in this country, except perhaps Henry Harbaugh's simple little trifle, "Jesus, I Live to Thee." The Lutherans and Reformed in this country were not hymn-producing churches. While they were in their "German" period, they used the German hymnodic tradition transplanted from their European homeland. Now that they have become English in language, they have borrowed the more literary hymns of British and American origin in the English language.

Our "bush meeting" people in the native American churches,

were, on the other hand, not satisfied merely to borrow the staid hymns of the fathers, either German or English, without reworking them, injecting their own emotional content and spirit into them, and making them something peculiarly their own. Hence out of the whole "bush meeting" tradition, formerly so despised by the Lutherans and Reformed and others of the "high church" tradition in Pennsylvania, there came something native, something new, and something distinctively American, that outranks any contribution the "established" churches of Eastern Pennsylvania, the Lutherans and Reformed, ever made.

Now that the spirituals are "passing away, like a long summer's day," to use the words of one of them, the churches which grew out of the "bush meeting" tradition—the Evangelical United Brethren, the Church of God and the smaller groups—are making more use of those more flowery and complicated offspring of the old bush meeting choruses—the American "gospel songs." Despite the fact that to the popular churches (Methodist, Baptist, Disciple and other groups which catered to the frontiersman on his own level in the period of the westward expansion of Christianity in America, 1783-1850) the "gospel song" is the American hymn, and is more familiar to the members than most of the more literary hymns from Britain, New England and elsewhere in America, you will look in vain in the *Common Service Book* of the Lutheran Church for any "gospel songs." A few of them are "tolerated" in the *Hymnal of the Evangelical and Reformed Church*, but only in a section deceptively titled "Miscellaneous Hymns."

But among the E.U.B.'s and the Church of God folk the Gospel Song still has an honored place in worship. And I have come to the conclusion that in these groups it was the earlier "bush meeting" spirituals which led the way to the Gospel Song. For was it not such men as E. S. Lorenz, Isaiah Baltzell, Elisha Hoffman, and others like them from the "bush meeting" groups, who gave more than Pennsylvania's share to the creation and spread of the Gospel Song in the post-Civil War period? The Lutheran and Reformed Churches had no native hymnwriters who from the standpoint of nation-wide influence (whatever we may think of the literary character of their songs) can rank with these men.

Hence let us at last pay tribute to the simple "bush meeting" spirituals that grew up on the camp grounds of the Pennsylvania

Dutch country between the Delaware and the Juniata, and sang their way into the hearts of our own "bush meeting people." Too long have they been the neglected stepchild of our American hymnodic tradition! To use the delightful words of an English spiritual I recorded this year in Lancaster County:

Let's have a shout before we go,  
Let's have a shout in Glory!  
Let's have a shout before we go,  
Let's have a shout in Glory!

And after we have had our last shout, let's sing the "farewell song" that used to resound through the tented grove the last night of the great Mahantongo Camp Meeting up in Schuylkill County! As the torches flickered and swayed in the summer breeze, the people formed a big ring around the tents, and pastors and people followed each other around, forming a second ring until all were greeted personally. And as the circle moved about, and the hands of the friends and neighbors who had shared the several days of spiritual refreshment together were clasped in farewell "till next year," the voices rose in these lovely words:

*Chorus:*

Farrewell, Brieder! Farrewell, Schweschder!  
Bis wir nander wieder sehn!  
Farrewell, Brieder! Farrewell, Schweschder!  
Bis wir nander wieder sehn!

1. Ach, des iss en Freide-Leben  
Eine grossi Selichkeit!  
Wenn man Gott iss gans ergeben  
Hier und dart in Ewicheit.

*Chorus:*

Farrewell, Brieder! Farrewell, Schweschder!  
Bis wir nander wieder sehn!  
Farrewell, Brieder! Farrewell, Schweschder!  
Bis wir nander wieder sehn!

*Chorus:*

Fare ye well, Brethren! Fare ye well, Sisters!  
Till we see you all again!  
Fare ye well, Brethren! Fare ye well, Sisters!  
Till we see you all again!

1. Ah, this is a life of pleasure,  
    Joy, and peace, serenity!  
When above all God we treasure  
    Here and in eternity.

Chorus:

Fare ye well, Brethren! Fare ye well, Sisters!  
    Till we see you all again!  
Fare ye well, Brethren! Fare ye well, Sisters!  
    Till we see you all again!

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For the first treatment of these songs as "spirituals," see the author's "Folklore from the Hegins and Mahantongo Valleys," in '*S Pennsylfawnisch Deitsch Eck*, Allentown *Morning Call*, November 22, 1947. Ten spirituals from this same geographical area, as recorded by the author, with Walter E. Boyer and Albert F. Buffington, appear in the recently published volume by the three individuals named, entitled *Songs along the Mahantongo* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, 1951). All the historical research on the spirituals in *Songs along the Mahantongo*, and the collating of the songs with the printed camp meeting literature, was, however, the work of the author of this paper. In *Songs Along the Mahantongo* he reprinted much of his earlier article, "Pennsylvania Dutch Spirituals—Folk Hymns of the 'Bush Meeting,'" which appeared in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* (Lancaster, Pa.), February, 1950. For the background materials on the "white spiritual" in English, see the fascinating volumes by George Pullen Jackson, (1) *Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1937); (2) *White and Negro Spirituals* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1943); and (3) *Down-East Spirituals and Others* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1943).



## APPENDIX A

### A TIMELESS MINISTRY

*A Sermon Preached By Professor Charles D. Spotts at the Ordination of Professor Don Yoder, Sunday, February 11, 1951*

"Then he called his twelve disciples together and gave them power and authority over all devils . . . and he sent them to preach the kingdom of God."—Luke 9:1, 2.

Contrary to popular opinion, Jesus probably spent less time preaching to the people, in their synagogues or out of doors on the seashore, than he devoted to instructing the twelve men who belonged to the 'inner circle'.

This training was tremendously important because these men were to be sent over the land to carry his message everywhere. They were to become apostles, 'messengers'. They were to do good to those who were in need, as he had done. They had seen what an overwhelming sense of the love and mercy of God welled up within him and possessed him. The reign of God meant to him the spread of this attitude to all mankind. To do this was their task, their ministry.

Nineteen hundred years and more have passed. But this still remains the job of those of the 'inner circle' of Christian ministers. To each one of us who would be his minister, his apostle, his messenger, comes the same call—"to have power and authority over devils and to preach the kingdom of God." This is the timeless, undated, eternal ministry of Christ's apostles in every age.

#### (1) Power Over Devils

What is it to have 'power over devils'? The Greek word in the original is daimon δαίμον and not diabolos διάβολος It should, therefore, be translated 'demon' and not 'devil'.

Demonology had its roots among primitive people in a phenomenon which Tyler and others call 'animism'. It is to be found throughout the Old Testament, and was definitely part of the Weltanschauung or world-view of the early Christians. It is particularly significant that Luke, the author of our text and a Greek physician, accepted this idea that the universe is inhabited by superhuman evil spirits, which are responsible for physical and moral evil.

Modern scientific thought has scattered these beings into the realm of primitive speculation. Nevertheless, physical and moral evil persists.

It, therefore, becomes the duty of those of us whose ministry is set in places of higher education to exercise ‘power and authority’ over the demonic powers of our day.

#### a) The Demon of Secularism

In the academic world perhaps the most damaging of these powers is the demon of *secularism*. The dictionary defines a secularist as “one who rejects every form of religious faith and worship, and undertakes to live accordingly.” A secularist is not an atheist. There are very few atheists on our college campuses. A secularist is one who does not deny the existence of God, but who lives as though God did not exist. There are numerous secular instructors and students in the college world. Indeed, not all the secularists are enrolled in institutions of higher learning.

The average American is overwhelmed by the urgencies and distractions of a war-weary and war-frightened world. Theodore Green of the Yale faculty has given us an accurate delineation in the following sentence:

“Labor for food and shelter, anxiety for even minimal security, family responsibilities, and all the activities incidental to man’s natural desire for social approval—these, in combination, leave little time, energy and incentive for cultural self-development or spiritual endeavor; when the day’s work is done he craves, above all else, gratification of his physical appetites, recreation, rest and sleep.”<sup>1</sup>

Such is the existence of the average American parent, whose children throng the college and university campus. Several weeks ago this picture became very vivid for me. While attending a Commission meeting in Washington I spent a free evening at the Theatre, where “Come Back, Little Sheba” was playing. On the stage the frustrations of middle age, for which God didn’t matter and life had no meaning, were painfully portrayed. Instead of pouring her affection on grandchildren the childless, middle-aged wife pined only for little Sheba, a dog, the family pet who was lost, perhaps killed. When the realities of life pushed upon him her frustrated husband turned to the bottle, only to be rescued periodically by the Alcoholic Anonymous ‘boys’. At no time did

either turn to the God of their fathers, or get on their knees in prayer, or search the scriptures for truth, or turn to the ministrations of the Christian Community called the Church.

I went back to my Hotel room that night saying to myself—"that was secular America, not necessarily lost, but groping for the wrong answers; not necessarily wicked, but frustrated; not necessarily morally sick, but possessed by the mighty demon of secularism."

Don, part of your task on the College Campus is to exercise 'power and authority' over this demon. As a Christian minister you are equipped with the necessary power. The Christian gospel is addressed directly to such unhappy, lonely souls, who are possessed by this demon of secularism.

"Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest for your souls."

These words have kindled new hope in simple men and women for twenty centuries. The Gospel has again and again helped them to escape from themselves, from emptiness, frustration and despair into a life of self-respect through love of God and man.

### b) The Demon of Mediocrity

The term 'Christian' is itself ambiguous since it is used in a diluted as well as in an undiluted case. On all college and university campuses are many students and faculty persons who are detached from the Church and from any regular religious observance; but who want to be called Christian in view of their moral code and their prevailing sentiment. The moral principles which they approve and by which they try to direct their lives are largely based on the "Ten Commandments" and somewhat more distantly on the "Sermon on the Mount." The repetition of the Lord's prayer or the singing of "Abide With Me" in College Chapel evoke in them collective emotions similar to "The Star Spangled Banner" or "Home Sweet Home" or "For Auld Lang Syne." They want to be called Christian but they are very mediocre Christians. They are possessed by the demon of *mediocrity*.

Those of us who minister to such students must exercise 'power and authority' over this demon also. One way to do this is by the witness of our own lives.

We may not attain any high degree of moral or spiritual achievement, much less of holiness. But, our religion must not

consist primarily in a code, a sentiment, or a cultus. In "The Crisis in the University" Sir Walter Moberly of Great Britain suggests that we must possess at least two distinct qualities if we are to exercise power over this demon.

First, we must have at least some imaginative apprehension of the real diminissons of the Divine. He tells about a great Cambridge teacher whose pupils felt they were witnessing a titanic struggle, like a ship with the wind blowing, going out to sea. He would read a passage from the Bible like "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength," and then say, "Suppose this were true." It was something infinitely more powerful than he which was blowing him along; it was the only time when you saw an idea as something infinitely more powerful than a man. The idea of God might be something objective which has escaped control of all the prophets and blew them where they did not want to go—therefore their testimony, "Thus saith the Lord." Suppose that was true.

The type of Christian teacher who is wanted on the College campus, as elsewhere, is a man who does not know he is anywhere, but it prepared to allow the wind to blow to show you what a wrestling for truth means.

Second, we must attempt to draw the strength of our daily lives from God's grace. We are not only set on obedience to God, but also on feeding on him.<sup>2</sup>

Near the close of his public ministry Jesus' disciples attempted to cast out the demon of an epileptic boy. After they failed Jesus arrived on the scene and proceeded to cure the lad. When the crowds had gone away the disciples asked him privately, "How is it that we could not cast it out?" And he said unto them "This kind can come out by nothing, save by prayer."

He says the same thing to us who would exercise "power and authority" over the demon of mediocrity, which has possessed our students for whom the Christian religion is not vital. We cannot do it save by the witness of our personal lives which are "on fire" because our faith and our devotion have been fed by the never-ceasing springs of prayer.

Here are only two of the demons over which we must have power and authority. The Hebrew root for the Greek word daimon δαιμον means "to be mighty," therefore, "to rule." The lives of many of our students are ruled by the demons of secular-

ism and mediocrity as well as others. To exercise power and authority over them we must possess greater power than they, the power of the Most High.

## (2) Proclamation of The Kingdom of God

To exercise power and authority over demons is the opportunity of every Christian College instructor, whether he teaches language, history, sociology, philosophy or science. But, on those of us who teach courses in Religion there rests an additional specific obligation. As our text puts it this responsibility is "to proclaim the gospel of the Kingdom of God."

It is quite proper that such should be the case at Franklin and Marshall College. During more than a century the study of the various aspects of religion has been a very important part of the curriculum. At Marshall College, in Mercersburg, President Frederick Augustus Rauch laid the foundation with his courses in Christian Ethics and Philosophy. In the Introduction to his volume on Dr. Rauch's discourses, Dr. E. V. Gerhart commented:

"Although the determining influence of his philosophical thinking upon the order of discussion and upon his views of Divine truth, is always seen and felt, yet the recognition of Jesus Christ as the true God, as the only way of salvation, and of the sacred Scriptures as alone possessing normal authority for faith and practice, reigns supreme in all, and gives them an eminently Christian and practical character, as distinguished from vapid sentimentalism on the one hand, and rationalistic speculation on the other."<sup>3</sup>

Rauch's successor, Dr. John Williamson Nevin, continued his emphasis on the centrality of Christ and the importance of the Church. A quarter of a century later Nevin served as president of Franklin and Marshall (1865-75).

In 1844 Dr. Philip Schaff joined the faculty of Marshall College and the Seminary. He introduced the study of Church History, and published his first of many volumes, "The History of the Apostolic Church," in 1851, exactly a century ago.

The influence of Rauch and Nevin and Schaff on Franklin and Marshall persisted until the late Dr. Henry Harbaugh Apple discontinued his lectures in Christian Ethics at the end of the Academic year, 1923-1924.

When Dr. Elijah E. Kresge came to the faculty in 1923 a new era began. He brought with him an academic training, received at the University of Pennsylvania, in the modern science of psychology which was entirely different from the psychology of Rauch; a long and rich experience in the pastorate; and a passion for the social implications of the Christian Gospel, which stemmed from the 19th century men like Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch. During seven student generations Dr. Kresge made an indelible impression upon several thousand college men.

The new era was further advanced by the coming of Dr. Paul M. Limbert, in 1923, as the first Chairman of the newly organized Department of Religion. Having completed his graduate work at Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary, Paul Limbert brought to Franklin and Marshall, not only a thorough academic preparation in the comparatively new field of religious education; but, also, the temperament, the personality, and the skills, which made it possible for him to make a lasting impression, not only on the College campus, but, also, in the community, during the decade that he spent at Franklin and Marshall.

The twentieth-century contribution to the study of religion at Franklin and Marshall was completed when Dr. John B. Noss came in 1928 as the second member of the Department of Religion, and its Chairman from 1931 to 1947. Born in Japan, the son of a Missionary of the Reformed Church, spent his youth among the Pennsylvania Germans of Eastern Pennsylvania, married a Scotch lassie, did his post-graduate work in Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh, serving during part of this period as pastor of a Scotch Presbyterian congregation; John Noss came amply prepared to introduce at Franklin and Marshall, a philosophical and historical course in The Religions of Mankind, which has aroused the continuing interest of thousands of students who sat in his class room; and is now embodied in his recently published textbook which has or is being used by approximately one hundred and fifty colleges, universities, and Theological Seminaries, and was recently given a column in the Harvard Review.

It may well be that when the historian writes the story fifty years hence, Kresge, Limbert, and Noss will be described as the Rauch, the Nevin, and the Gerhart of the twentieth century. With apologies to Dr. Richards, who knows but what you, Don Yoder, may be listed as the Schaff.

It is against this background that we ordain you into the Christian Ministry of teaching. If there is anything distinctive about your generation it is its renewed emphasis upon theology. If you would be true to your heritage you will be primarily a theologian. I am using this term, theologian, as over against "religionist." Someone has suggested that we have too much religion and not enough theology.

Theology, as I am using it, is not the science of religion. It is not the study of religion as a human phenomenon, undertaken in the spirit of an observing naturalist, which is represented by such books as Frazer's Golden Bough and Jame's Varieties of Religious Experience. Its approach is quite unlike that of the psychologist or anthropologist, who studies the content of religious experience and the behaviour resulting from it, while reserving the question of whether it is, in fact, an experience of God, and whether there really is a God to be experienced. Nor is it "philosophy of religion," which examines, as an open question, the existence of God, Freedom, and Immortality. These are indeed entirely legitimate subjects for the curriculum, but they are not the primary concern of the Department of Religion at Franklin and Marshall.

As a member of this Department your first concern should be Christian theology, as the study of the self-revelation of the living God; that is, of a corporate experience of God in which from start to finish He is the initiator. The late William Temple put it better than I know how. "What are ultimate questions for philosophy are primary assurances for Religion."

The Christian theologian assumes that knowledge of God is both possible and actual; for him it is no longer an open question. "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." That is the Christian theologians basic assumption.

Thus theology implies commitment. For the theologian, as I am using the term, thinking is inextricably bound up with other mental functions, knowing God with serving and worshipping him. The theologian is not a detached observer, classifying and judging. As Moberly puts it—"He is a party to an encounter, the less party, conscious in judging of being judged. In a true sense he must study on his knees."<sup>4</sup>

One hundred and seven years ago Philip Schaff closed his Inaugural Address, delivered at Reading on the 25th of October, 1844, with the following words, which you might well adopt as your consuming purpose.

"I may then say comprehensively, that the foundation on which I stand . . . is no other than the orthodox Protestant, or what in my view is the same, the Reformed Catholic faith; as it was preached loudly and powerfully by the reformers of the sixteenth century, or rather by the Spirit of God in their persons, at once purifying the Church from the springs of its primitive life, and raising it besides into a new and higher form."<sup>5</sup>

What I have said today is merely a hint concerning the task of a Christian teacher. All that remains is yours—to do what you understand to be your duty. As John Baillie put it a quarter of a century ago: "For I, at least, should take it as axiomatic that the only faith which can be required of us, and the only faith which is any way blame-worthy not to possess is the faith that is born of dutiful devotion to our appointed task."<sup>6</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

- (1) *The Christian Answer*, H. P. Van Dusen, Editor; Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1945, p. 46.
- (2) *The Crisis in The University*, Sir Walter Moberly, S. C. M. Press, London, 1949, P. 263.
- (3) Quoted in *Recollections of College Life*, by Theodore Apple, Daniel Miller, printer; Reading, Pa., 1886, P. 283.
- (4) *The Crisis in The University*, Moberly, P. 283.
- (5) "The Weekly Messenger of the German Reformed Church," April 9, 1845; Vol. 10, No. 30, P. 1991.
- (6) *The Roots of Religion in the Human Soul*, John Baillie, Doran, N. Y., 1926, P. 248.

## **APPENDIX B**

### **CORPORATE WORSHIP ON A COLLEGE CAMPUS**

CHARLES D. SPOTTS

Franklin and Marshall is a Church-Related College, with more than a century of affiliation with the Reformed Church in the United States (now absorbed in the Evangelical and Reformed Church). As a Church College it has always provided opportunities for corporate worship for students and members of the faculty.

#### **Daily Chapel**

Until 1925 fifteen-minute chapel services were held daily at 9:10 which all protestant students were required to attend. Most of the services were conducted by the President of the College. The Service of Worship was liturgical, including special collects for each day of the week. Copies of the prayers were available for the students. Members of the faculty served as monitors. Students were assigned to special sections of the Chapel.

Members of the faculty, a few students, Seminary professors and their families, and a few townspeople constituted St. Stephen's Reformed Church, which held regular Sunday Morning services in College Chapel. Students, who did not commute over weekends, were required to attend these Sunday services. The President of the College served as Pastor; members of the College and Seminary faculties did the preaching.

#### **Weekly Chapels**

During the early twenties the student body increased; a Department of Religion was organized; Chapel services were reduced to once a week, Tuesday at 9:10; student monitors replaced faculty monitors; Chapel services were conducted by members of the Department of Religion, city ministers being frequently invited to preach. This plan was in operation for about a quarter of a century.

A number of disadvantages became increasingly apparent. Fifteen minutes did not provide enough time for a complete service of worship, including a sermon or meditation. As the college grew in size the number of Roman Catholic and Hebrew students increased until they totaled as many as three hundred

and forty. Faculty members also ceased to attend. It was, therefore, natural that the protestant students became very critical about the absence of Roman Catholic and Hebrew students and members of the faculty in Chapel. Pre-theological students were given an opportunity to conduct many of the Services, which frequently resulted in poorly planned services, poorly conducted, with consequent ineffectiveness. All of this was aggravated by a growing student agitation against compulsory Chapel.

### **Present Experiment**

During the spring of 1948 a committee, consisting of faculty members, students, and local clergymen, after an intensive study of the Chapel situation at Franklin and Marshall, recommended an experiment which was innaugurated in the Fall of 1948 and is still functioning with a great deal of effectiveness.

#### **(1) Simultaneous Weekly Chapels**

Facing the fact of the heterogeneity of the student body, three Chapel services are held simultaneously on Tuesday at 11:00 o'clock, three times a month.

##### **a) Protestant Chapel**

The protestant students meet in the College Chapel, where a thirty-minutes service is conducted by a member of the Department of Religion. A simple liturgical service with the use of informal prayers is followed. An octet, trained by the College Director of Music, helps to carry the Service and presents occasional special music. Carefully selected speakers present the verbal message except on special occasions when no talk is included. Members of the Student Chapel Committee are responsible for altar flowers, cleaning of the altar cloths, and ushering. "Hymns For Worship," prepared for the Council of North American Student Christian Movements, published by the Association Press, is used.

The following Order of Worship is used:

Organ Prelude

Scripture Sentences

Versicle: Liturgist and Chapel Octet

Hymn

Scripture Lesson

Anthem

Prayer

The Gloria Patri

Address

Hymn

Benediction and Response by Octet

Organ Postlude

b) Roman Catholic Chapel

During the same hour Roman Catholic students meet in Diagnothian Hall, where a period of religious instruction is conducted by the clergy of Sacred Heart Parish. The College makes no effort to control the nature of these services. A student monitor, not necessarily a Roman Catholic student, is responsible for reporting attendance. The local priest is very cooperative and has commended the College for making this Service possible. It provides an opportunity for the Roman Catholic Church to keep in touch with the Catholic students who come to Franklin and Marshall.

c) Hebrew Chapel

At the same hour the Hebrew students meet in Goethan Hall, where the Services consist of Hymns, scripture, prayers, discussion, and occasional liturgies. The rabbis of the three local Synagogues (Orthodox, Conservative and Reformed) take turns in conducting these Services. During one Semester a Christian student played the piano for the hymns. During Jewish holidays, when the Rabbis are occupied a Jewish member of the faculty presides. Students also participate in the leadership of these meetings.

**(2) Monthly All-College Religious Convocations**

Once a month, on Tuesday at 11:00 o'clock, an Interfaith All College Religious Convocation is held in Hensel Hall. This is strictly a service of corporate worship. No announcements or other interruptions are permitted. A printed Order of Worship is prepared for each Convocation. The following is a copy of the Service which was used recently:

Organ Prelude-Contemplation ..... PURVIS

Invocation to Worship

The Morning Hymn

1

All creatures of our God and King,  
Lift up your voice and with us sing  
Alleluia, Alleluia!

Thou burning sun with golden beam,  
Thou silver moon with softer gleam:  
O Praise him, O praise him,  
Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia!

2

Dear mother earth, who day by day  
Unfoldest blessings on our way,  
O Praise him, Alleluia!

The flowers and fruits that in thee grow  
Let them his glory also show:  
O praise him, O praise him,  
Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia!

3

And all ye men of tender heart,  
Forgiving others, take your part,  
O sing ye, Alleluia!

Ye, who long pain and sorrow bear,  
Praise God and on him cast your care:  
O praise him, O praise him,  
Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia!

4

Let all things their Creator bless,  
And worship him in humbleness,  
O praise him, Alleluia!

Praise, praise your maker and your king,  
Lift up your voice and with us sing:  
O praise him, O praise him,  
Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia!

The Morning Scripture: The First Epistle to the Corinthians  
12:27-13:13

The Morning Prayer

Anthem—Non Nobis Domine ..... QUILTER  
Address—Knowing, and Being Known .... Dr. John Castell

Union Theological Seminary, New York

Benediction and Choral Response

Organ Postlude—Postlude Solemnelle ..... RINCK

Faculty members, who are ordained, take turns in serving as liturgist. Occasionally a faculty choir leads in the singing of the hymns, in addition to the presentation of an anthem.

The College provides an ample budget for the securing of outside speakers. At least one Jewish rabbi is invited to speak each year. Whenever the Bishop of the local diocese permits a Roman Catholic speaker is invited. Since there are Negroes in our student body at least one Convocation includes a Negro preacher and a Negro guest soloist. The Annual Christmas Convocation includes the singing of Carols, special Christmas Music by the College Glee Club, and appropriate Scriptures, but no address.

### **Attendance Requirements**

In theory voluntary attendance at Chapel can be defended, but a realistic approach will readily suggest that a voluntary basis for all students would not be practical at Franklin and Marshall now.

However, in order to keep the voluntary element present, compulsory attendance is required of only the first three classes. For Seniors attendance is voluntary unless they have deficiencies from their first three years. A number of seniors do attend on a voluntary basis. The regulations require attendance at six Chapels and four Convocations each semester. Attendance slips are collected by student monitors. A permanent attendance record is kept for each student enrolled in College.

### **(3) Voluntary Weekly Chapels**

In addition to the opportunity for formal corporate worship which is provided by the Tuesday Morning Chapels and Convocations the program includes weekly voluntary informal Chapels.

These are held in College Chapel on Wednesday evening from 6:45 to 7:00. The program is planned and conducted entirely by students, most of whom are pre-theological. There is no attempt in the direction of formality or uniformity. Hymns, scripture readings, prayers, and meditation are usually included. The attendance is never large but those who do attend find this Service to be valuable.

### **(4) Special Sunday Morning Chapels**

There is no regular Sunday Worship Service held on the Campus. Those students who remain on the Campus over weekends are encouraged to attend Services in local churches of their choice. However, this is entirely voluntary and no attempt is made

to check up on attendance. Local clergymen report that a considerable number of students do attend their Sunday Services.

Under the sponsorship of the Student Council Sunday Chapel Services are held in connection with such special events as Dad's Day, Freshmen Orientation, Mid-Winter Week-End, and Alumni Week-End. The Department of Religion cooperates with the Student Council in planning for such special Chapels. The following Service of Worship was used at the Freshmen Orientation Chapel.

Organ Prelude

Invocation

Hymn—"O Worship the King"

Sentences of Scripture

Litany

Almighty and everlasting God, before whom stand the spirits of the living and the dead; Light of lights, Foundation of wisdom and goodness, who livest in all pure and humble and gracious souls.

For patriarchs and prophets and apostles; for the wise of every land and nation, and all teachers of mankind; for all students and seekers of truth,

WE PRAISE THEE, O GOD, AND BLESS THY NAME.

For those who have been tender and true and brave in all times and places, for our fathers, mothers, and friends, and for all who have been one with Thee in the communion of Christ's spirit and in the strength of his love,

WE PRAISE THEE, O GOD, AND BLESS THY NAME.

For all who have toiled and suffered for freedom, good government, just laws, and the sanctity of the home; and for all who have given their lives for their country,

WE PRAISE THEE, O GOD, AND BLESS THY NAME.

Especially in this hour do we remember all those in the Armed Forces of our country and of the nations united in the cause of world justice and peace, all who on land and sea and in the air, have offered themselves as a sacrifice to roll back the tide of violence from the souls of men, and bring glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, goodwill among men.

THESE WE REMEMBER AND BLESS THY NAME.

That we may hold in continual remembrance all who have shown selfless goodness, and that we may prepare ourselves to follow them in their upward way,

WE BESEECH THEE TO HEAR US, O GOD.  
In the communion of the Holy Spirit with our beloved, they who dwell in far places, but yet are ever in their presence and peace, we, who learn and prepare, unite in ascribing:

THANKSGIVING, GLORY, HONOR, AND POWER UNTO THEE, O LORD OUR GOD.

Prayer

Hymn—"Love Divine, All Loves Excelling"

Meditation

Hymn—"O God, Our Help in Ages Past"

Benediction

Postlude

### (5) Holy Communion

Each Semester the sacrament of Holy Communion is administered. The Order for Holy Communion found in The Hymnal of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, is usually followed.

The Service is held in College Chapel, usually on the Thursday evening before the Christmas and Easter recess. Members of the faculty officiate. Attendance is voluntary; about one hundred usually being present.

There are a number of aspects about this program which are not completely satisfactory; but, as a whole, it is working very well. It is an unusual approach to the problem of College Chapel and is being studied by other institutions.



## **APPENDIX C**

### **BIOGRAPHICAL DATA**

Luther John Binkley—A.B., Franklin and Marshall College, 1945; B.D., Lancaster Theological Seminary, 1947; Ph.D., Harvard University.

Robert George Mickey—A.B., University of Denver, 1939; B.D., Pacific School of Religion, 1942.

John Boyer Noss—A.B., Franklin and Marshall College, 1916; B.D., Lancaster Theological Seminary, 1922; Ph.D., University of Edinburgh, 1928.

Charles Dewey Spotts—A.B., Franklin and Marshall College, 1922; B.D., Lancaster Theological Seminary, 1925; A.M., University of Pennsylvania, 1933; D.D., Catawba College, 1948.

William Toth—A.B., Franklin and Marshall College, 1926; B.D., Lancaster Theological Seminary, 1929; Ph.D., Yale University, 1941.

Don Yoder—A.B., Franklin and Marshall College, 1942; B.D., University of Chicago, 1945; Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1947.









